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Chapayevsk CW Destruction Facility Discussed

*Plant's Workings Described

WA18070522a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondents S. Kulik and V. Chernyshev: "The Plant Where Toxic Agents Are Destroyed"]

[Text] On 10 February a report entitled "But Is It Possible Not To 'Test'?" described the construction in Kuybyshev Oblast of a plant to be used for the destruction of chemical weapons, and about the thick veil of secrecy around this project, providing grounds for various kinds of rumors. Today we report the details of this top secret plant.

During a conversation with us, Lieutenant General S. Petrov, who was recently appointed chief of the Ministry of Defense Chemical Troops, said:

"The pathological secrecy surrounding everything associated with chemical weapons comes to us from the past. But if today we are ready to do everything possible and necessary to conclude in the near future a convention banning chemical weapons and calling for their complete destruction, why do we need this secrecy? It would be even more unreasonable because we see the main purpose of the project at Chapayevsk as developing an effective technology to destroy chemical weapons—which we can then make available to other states. Here we are paying special attention to the safety of the equipment used to destroy toxic agents in terms of people and the environment."

"Is similar work being done in the West?" we were interested to know.

"As far as I know the United States is about to develop its own method for destroying chemical weapons before 1993." Doctor of Technical Sciences Major General I. Yevstafyev joined in the conversation. "In the United States, England, and the FRG a one-stage technology is being used: direct destruction of toxic agents. We, however, have divided the process into two stages: First we carry out decontamination and neutralization, virtually rendering the lethal charges in the munitions harmless, and then we get rid of the stock thus obtained, which does not present any direct danger. [no closing quotation mark as published]

Of course, this way is complex and more costly. But it does guarantee a solution of ecological problems. We demonstrated the principles of this technology in Shikhany, where in October 1987 delegations from 45 countries were able to observe the process of chemical weapons destruction at mobile installations. Western experts assessed this kind of technology as ecologically safe. What then, can we say about a permanent installation where the monitoring system provides even better guarantees? At Chapayevsk a truly unique project is being created that incorporates many of the achievements of Soviet science and technology.

A night on the "Zhiguli" train linking the capital with Kuybyshev, and we are already at Chapayevsk. The city (PRAVDA has already described this) is saturated with the chemical industry and facilities for the production of fertilizers and acids, and a number of other enterprises are located there, bringing its inhabitants many annoyances.

After getting our mouths full of the "Chapayevsk fog," crossing the highway by the yellow train not far from the fertilizer plant, we push on beyond the city. The further we go into the steppe the cleaner becomes the air and the snow.

"What is this 'rose of winds'?" one of us asked the project chief, Colonel V. Solovyev, when his "Volga" turned off the main highway, almost skidding past a drift left over from the storm.

"The winds here 'work' for safety; they blow away from the city," Vyacheslav Konstantinovich said. "And what has the wind to do with it? Do you really think that they will blow from us to the city? There is no chance of that! The Ministry of Health requires that enterprises like ours be located on the other side of a 2-kilometer sanitation and safety zone. And between us and Chapayevsk it is 20 kilometers."

The colonel unfastened his greatcoat, took off his hat and, wearily rubbing his temple, turned to us again.

"I do not understand everything that is happening in the city. They are writing about some kind of 'veil of secrecy,' that the leadership there does not know our specialty. But we started the construction in 1987 after first reaching agreement on everything with the gorkom and ispolkom. And then at the stage that my soldiers, under the conditions of the fat Chernozem lands here nicknamed 'Bermuda grass,' it was zero cycle, and the installation of our 'path through life' and other ground work was written about in the central press. It was another matter that they wrote little about the services and the selflessness of those who started it here in the blizzard severity of the winter in this empty place. Those who had been through Chernobyl were a big help. The comparison here is, of course, quite hypothetical. But the sense of responsibility for our assignment is very great. Experience, knowledge, and information are a great thing. [no closing quotes as published]

Many are worried by the question of how things stand with the toxic agents that will be destroyed at the installation. In order for them to be affected by the potential properties of weapons of mass destruction there must be an initiator—an explosion. And the chemical munitions arriving at the installation will have no

means of explosion; they will be in factory packaging in the form in which they are moved from the enterprises to the warehouses. And we must also come to terms with and get accustomed to the fact that since we have admitted the existence of about 50,000 tons of chemical weapons, the logical conclusion must be drawn: This freight has long since been known to our railroads. It will be accompanied by special teams equipped with decontamination equipment. And if we want to rid ourselves of this kind of freight then the only way to do this is to permit CW munitions to be sent on their final journey, to destruction. And this can be done more immediately [operativno] and more safely only at Chapayevsk. And not to "win" at the Geneva conference, but to win for ourselves.

Construction of the installation is now at the stage of completion. The main technical facilities have already been built and individual tests have been conducted. Now the preparations are under way for full-scale testing using neutral agents, and then using simulated agents, and then with real agents, that is, with organophosphorous toxic agents of the kind demonstrated at Shikhany. At that time there was talk of bringing the Chapayevsk installation on line in 1988. Now it is 1989....

"We made this postponement recognizing the responsibility that has been laid on the collective," said V.K. Solovyev. "This kind of installation must be constructed without any sudden panics [avraly]. We shall do our business without crash programs and we shall destroy weapons on about 100 days each year. The rest of the time will be taken up by preventive work. All the all-union organs will be monitoring our activity. Leading scientists and scientific organizations have also calculated and checked the correctness of the technological decisions. [no closing quotes as published]

The railroad track goes past the ramps of a long gray building with enormous reinforced doors. This is the warehouse and storage facility. But no one is going to be hiding "goods in short supply" under the counter. The volume and storage of munitions will be minimal—exactly what is needed to insure no interruptions in the technological process. Safety measures? Any massive explosion here is excluded because of the absence of any initiator. The warehouse is made from special materials capable of withstanding not only shotgun and automatic fire but also small-caliber artillery. Soldiers are already on guard around the warehouse. But along with them it will be guarded by the very latest alarm system that will give warning long before any moving object can approach the gray building.

Notwithstanding all this, what about something sudden? For we have already had Chernobyl, the tragedy at the American enterprise in the Indian city of Bhopal, and there have been optimistic predictions by eminent scientists about the "harmless nature" of dozens of other enterprises that are now polluting the lives of hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants on the outskirts of cities throughout the world. What if suddenly...?

"At all stages of the technological process we have taken all this into consideration and have studied and calculated various kinds of emergency situations," V. Solovyev said confidently. "And we have set up a multistage system for both monitoring and control, enabling us to redirect into the proper channel any process showing deviation from the technical parameters, and to block any unwanted situation."

"What has been done for this?" we asked.

"Briefly, our entire production facility is a closed, automatic cycle that has no exits to the outside. In order to observe the safety regulations, gas monitoring of work places will take place, providing analysis of the air on the premises, in the enterprise territory, and in the protective sanitation zone with the aid of Soviet-produced high-speed instruments. Their readings are fed to a computer-controlled complex. In addition, a system has been set up that makes it possible to stop the technical process in the event of even minimum deviation from the settings. In order to solve the ecological tasks, provision has been made for an automatic system for the operation of the technologies in the industrial zone. [no closing quotation mark as published]

The brain center of this system is the elegant blue-faced engineering block. It contains a computer-equipped control center from where, day and night, highly skilled specialists observe and direct all technological processes. Opposite is the three-storied building of the laboratory. Express analyses will be made there of all reagents received for the destruction of toxic agents and their stock.

The international monitoring laboratory is located alongside us. We shall contribute only the systems for its vital activity and safety. Foreign experts will be able to bring in with them whatever instruments they need, which will enable them to evaluate objectively the situation both at the facility and around it.

Passing the containers in the tank park that contain the decontamination equipment, shining silver in the bright, bright sunlight, we arrived at the preparation section for the main technology block. The munitions arriving here from the warehouse are unpacked and passed on to the technological line.

Here we are in the realm of automation and electronics. Depending on the size of the munitions, they are placed on a conveyer appropriate to the parameters. Alongside, the chemical parts of aerial bombs, containing 49 kilograms of sarin, and next to them artillery rocket projectiles capable of delivering 8 kilograms of that same toxic agent, start their journey into nonexistence.

The air lock at which the conveyer in the preparation section ends is the threshold of "the other world" for the chemical munitions. When they pass through it they arrive in the main hall of the technological block, which looks like a collection of intricate installations and a web of interwoven pipes. At the center are sealed chambers, in which the metallic cases of the munitions, now painted gray, are automatically drilled and opened and the toxic agent removed under vacuum conditions.

The vacuum is the guarantee of success in the operation and of its safety and purity. It guarantees that at the instant the toxic agent is released it is sucked into the system and in no circumstances can remain outside it. And here in the vacuum chamber the toxic agent moves through the main pipes into an apparatus where it is rendered harmless by mixing with neutralizing agents.

Soon the specialists in their brightly colored coveralls will move to their work places at the installation and the various colored lights will start to flash on the control panel.

"I am pleased with this system, and indeed with the entire project," Vyacheslav Konstantinovich said as we said good-bye. "I love it and I care for it as I would care for my own child. When we finish our work on the technology we shall immediately start work on social, cultural, and everyday facilities. We shall continue the construction of our little residential town 2 kilometers from here. The parents of soldiers, who recently came here for the oath-taking ceremony, are saying that they have no fears for their sons. It is interesting for the young men to serve at this unusual installation. Here, just ask the first person you meet."

That person turned out to be Senior Sergeant Roman Chirkin, who before being drafted into the Army 2 years ago was studying in the History Department of Donetsk University.

"In our military terminology this is an 'installation.' But as a historian I would call it the first disarmament plant in history. The first foundation stones were laid not by members of the construction battalion, but by the Soviet politicians and diplomats who for decades have been fighting in the stubborn skirmishes at the negotiations to destroy chemical weapons."

*Safety Precautions Noted

WA18070522b Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian15 Feb 89 p 1

[S. Petrov report: "In the Steppe near Chapayevsk Construction of a Plant To Destroy Chemical Weapons Has Been Completed"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **At the request of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editor, Lieutenant General S. Petrov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Chemical Troops, commented on this event.**

There have been repeated press reports about the enterprise located on the right bank of the Volga about 12 kilometers from Chapayevsk city in Kuybyshev Oblast. It is a unique symbol of recent political achievements. For it is here that, following the conclusion of the international convention on a total ban on chemical weapons, Soviet chemical munitions will be destroyed.

What is it like, this "Chapayevsk project," as we have grown accustomed to calling it? It is a large production facility based on the latest technology. The enterprise includes technological, engineering, and laboratory blocks, a storage facility for the solutions used to neutralize the toxic agents, a power block, an installation for burning solid waste, repair shops....

The technological process is oriented on continuous operation. But the chemical weapons will be destroyed only during the summer period, which will facilitate equipment checks and maintenance and create additional guarantees for safety. The munitions will be delivered to the enterprise as required, without building up large stockpiles and without working in short periods to destroy them.

The technology developed by our scientists guarantees almost waste-free destruction of toxic agents. In October 1987 foreign specialists were able to familiarize themselves with our methods for elimination of chemical munitions and they assessed them highly. At the enterprise extensive use is made of automation, robot technology, and industrial television, and provision has been made for backup systems and three-way control. The air purification system also has a backup. Concern for ecological purity dictated full automation of functions in the industrial zone. The sanitation-protection zone around the enterprise meets all USSR Ministry of Health requirements.

But the main guarantee of safety is, in my opinion, the highly skilled specialists who make up the enterprise staff. Many of them have been through the stern school of Chernobyl. They are fully aware of their responsibility.

The enterprise is now being prepared for a full-scale test of the equipment. After that has been completed the state acceptance commission will do its work.

Spokesman Comments on Bush Disarmament Remarks

LD2502145189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] In his recently published interview with the news agency KYODO TSUSHIN, President Bush raised among other issues questions of Soviet-American relations. He said in particular that the control of conventional arms would be one of the priorities of his administration. He added that at the coming talks in Vienna the United States will seek more stability and security on a lower level of armed forces and conventional arms.

Our reporter has asked the Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev to comment on the statements by the United States' President:

The Soviet Union welcomes the intention by the new American Administration to give priority attention to reductions of conventional arms in Europe. The USSR is prepared to open a dialogue with the United States on this issue to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. The dialogue should naturally include also other important disarmament issues. This concerns above all consistent progress towards a treaty on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons within the framework of the ABM Treaty.

In his statement the American President mentioned a number of meetings between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker in the coming months, says the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman. The President expects those meetings to prepare thoroughly for a new Soviet-American summit meeting. We take that as evidence of continuity of the American Administration's policy in the Soviet-American dialogue, concludes a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev.

NATO, Pact Differences on Modernization Noted

PM2402161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 6, 7

["From Different Standpoints" feature comprising abbreviated reprint of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL article by Robert Keithley followed by commentary by Boris Surikov, candidate of technical sciences, major general of aviation (retired)]

[Text]

NATO's Difficulties

New York—When Mikhail Gorbachev took the rostrum at the United Nations last month (this article was published 20 January this year—editor's note) work at NATO Headquarters in Brussels stopped.

...This is a sign of the times: Even as the Western allies are formulating policy in the security sphere, the Soviet leader is constantly cutting the ground from under their feet. He took the last such step when he told a delegation of Western representatives that the Soviet Union is planning to cut its military budget by 14.2 percent and production of military equipment by 19.5 percent, although he did not set any timetable. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced that in the next 2 years Moscow will withdraw some of its tactical nuclear arms from Europe. This will complicate NATO's plans for modernizing its nuclear arsenal.

Such statements are complicating NATO's already agonizing attempts to decide just what its genuine military needs are. First, it will be harder for Western governments to justify large appropriations for military hardware at a time when the talk is mainly of peace.

...Cautious Western official representatives claim the Warsaw Pact forces retain the ability to invade the West even if the Soviet Union concludes the process of unilateral troop and arms reductions. According to officials, it would now be more sensible to retain individual—but firm—NATO programs which will help to obtain from the USSR the agreements that the West wants.

Although all 16 NATO states find it hard to reach agreement on any issue, these problems can be seen primarily in relations between the United States and West Germany—the two most powerful members of the alliance. Washington wants the position in the security sphere to be firmer than Bonn finds acceptable.

Any decisions by Bonn and Washington will be decisive for NATO policy in many areas, since the two countries play a dominant role in many organizations. While France remains "hawkish" without interfering, as a rule, in the conflicts in alliance ranks, Britain's influence is noticeably weakening, primarily—many diplomats claim—because of Prime Minister Thatcher's abrupt style.

In this regard NATO is facing substantial tasks. These include:

The development of a wide-ranging political document on the problems of European defense which could be used as a basis for specific NATO decisions such as determining the correlation between the roles of nuclear and conventional forces;

The modernization of nuclear weapons. The main but not the only problem is what to do with the 99 obsolete Lance launchers belonging to NATO in West Germany.... Or should talks be held with the Soviet Union on all short-range nuclear missiles? The fact that Moscow has stated its intention to cut its tactical nuclear forces in Europe complicates the resolution of this issue in NATO still further.

The intense debates within NATO about the obsolete short-range Lance missiles arose following Moscow's statement that it will withdraw and dismantle some of its tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

The United States wants to deploy new, more accurate missiles and possibly new launchers that would make it possible to hit Soviet reserve units deep within Warsaw Pact territory. It also wants to complete modernization of nuclear artillery, reducing the total number of nuclear weapons in Europe by 1,000 or more.

But many West Germans disagree with this, and the latest planned Soviet reduction may prompt other West German citizens to agree to the alternative of totally scrapping nuclear weapons.

During Kohl's recent visit to Washington former President Reagan and President Bush won his agreement to replace Lance. We can assume that Kohl will make use of NATO's new overall defense plan to justify his agreement with the general idea, but he will not take any concrete steps before the elections scheduled for December 1990. This is a very timid plan, but it may satisfy Congress.

But it will be hard to convince the West German and West European public even of this. It cannot be said for certain that Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and certain other countries will support this plan; they are more likely to want to get rid of old nuclear weapons than to permit the deployment of new ones.

NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner has said: "Our task is to provide a foundation for the continuation of our military efforts at a time when the public believes that the need for strong defense has decreased." [Keithley ends]

Today's Imperatives

In his article, published in abridged form, Robert Keithley laments the difficulties NATO leaders are encountering in working out an agreed solution on the West's further steps in the arms sphere. The writer notes that the Soviet Union, through its multifaceted peace initiatives, is "constantly cutting the ground from under their feet." In addition, Keithley states, Western society's desire to "actively support military activities" is being weakened.

The reality is that the socialist countries are not only graphically demonstrating the Warsaw Pact's desire to really curb the arms race, but are being flexible in their approach to the resolution of a highly complex problem. The coordinated line of unilateral cuts in armed forces, weapons, defense budgets, and volumes of military production is convincing proof of the defensive nature of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine.

For 40 years NATO leaders justified the need for their alliance's existence and the constant military buildup by citing the existence of a threat from the USSR and the Warsaw Pact.

The mandate for talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on troop and arms reductions from the Atlantic to the Urals envisages that the talks will start in March. The aim of the coming talks is to strengthen stability and security in Europe by establishing a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces.

It is also planned to eliminate "inequalities" and the potential for launching a surprise attack and large-scale offensive operations. Thus, following the first step in the disarmament sphere—the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the United States and the Soviet Union—preparations are under way for a multilateral agreement cutting armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

A number of Western statesmen make a high assessment of the peace initiatives of the socialist countries. However, NATO leaders and the conservative press are continuing to be more restrained, and even negative about some points. Recognizing the great importance of decisions by the Warsaw Pact states on unilaterally cutting armed forces and arms, they at the same time are trying to cast aspersions on these peace initiatives, using sometimes standard, trite arguments.

Robert Keithley clearly sympathizes with those official NATO representatives who are striving with the help of "firm" military programs to achieve the "agreements that the West wants" (?!). To suit his thesis the writer clearly oversimplifies France's position, claiming that it remains "hawkish." Indeed, the Fifth Republic has recently been implementing an expensive program to sharply build up its nuclear potential. But is it right from the political standpoint to ignore facts such as President Mitterrand's repeated statements about the absurdity of the policy of excessive armament at a time when there is an incipient trend in East-West relations toward the easing of military confrontation and the development of cooperation?

Among the highly important tasks facing the NATO leaders is the modernization of tactical nuclear arms. The NATO leaders' plan is for the obsolete Lance missiles to be replaced by longer-range tactical nuclear weapon systems capable of hitting targets located deep within the territories of the Warsaw Pact states. Keithley writes about this, spotlighting the differences between Washington and some of its allies over the modernization of nuclear weapons. There have been reports in the foreign press that the Pentagon is gearing itself to the development of the more accurate and longer-range Lance 2 tactical nuclear missile.

Former FRG Defense Minister and now NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, an ardent advocate of arms escalation, is campaigning for the NATO arms upgrading program in the teeth of the West European public's negative opinion. Clearly, the "hawks" have their own logic. It is subordinated to the will of the military-industrial complex, which has no interest in progress at the talks between the USSR and the United States or between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The writer of the article asks the question: Should there not be talks with the USSR on all short-range missiles? Yet this question has essentially been answered already. Such a proposal is contained in the well-known Soviet

statement of 15 January 1986, which states that by the year 2000 the world should be rid of nuclear weapons of all varieties. History has set a tough timetable. If Western leaders are prepared for talks on the "third zero" covering surface-to-surface and air-to-surface missiles with a range of less than 500 km, then I believe they will be met with mutual understanding in Moscow.

UK, FRG To Discuss NATO Nuclear Arms Policy
LD2002145188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 20 Feb 89

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Georgiy Alekseyev, with commentary by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] British-FRG consultations begin at summit level in Frankfurt-am-Main today [20 February]: British Prime Minister Thatcher, Foreign Minister Howe, and Defense Minister Younger will arrive in the West German town. Taking part in the talks on the West German side will be FRG Chancellor Kohl, Foreign Minister Genscher, and Defense Minister Scholtz.

The first topic for discussion will be issues relating to the planned modernization of NATO tactical nuclear weapons. The FRG and Great Britain have different positions on this issue. During the U.S. secretary of state's visit to Bonn, Chancellor Kohl stated directly that the decision on modernization of Lance missiles must be postponed. In his view, implementation of this proposal at this moment would be a bad signal to the Soviet Union and to Eastern Europe, in a period of relaxation of tension in relations between East and West. London, on the contrary, gives unreserved backing to Washington on this issue. Prime Minister Thatcher will evidently try to exert pressure on Kohl to try and persuade him to change his position. The opposition Social Democratic Party of Germany is also in solidarity with this position.

The EXPRESS newspaper has published an interview with Erwin Horn, Social Democrat expert on disarmament and security affairs. He is regarded as one of the leading specialists in this sphere. Horn advocated elimination of ground-based nuclear missiles with a range of up to 500 km. In his view, talks should be held on the subject of the Soviet tactical missile systems and the U.S. Lance nuclear missiles which are deployed in Europe. Erwin Horn considers that it is time to start a dialogue about the next, zero solution—that is, the elimination of nuclear weapons remaining on the territory of Europe which are not covered by the Soviet-U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. I shall ask my colleague, commentator Boris Andrianov, to give his opinion on the West German expert's statement.

[Andrianov] Erwin Horn's view is wholly justified, and his point of view, incidentally, coincides with our country's position on this problem. The Soviet Union advocates the elimination all nuclear weapons, including tactical weapons. The countries of the Warsaw Pact have repetedly proposed starting negotiations with NATO on reduction and then elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including their nuclear components. It is apposite to point out that at the Vienna meeting held last month the Soviet Union favored the inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons, including short-range missiles up to 500 km, in the mandate of the talks on reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. These talks are due to start in the Austrian capital in March this year. These create, in our view, good opportunities for a serious dialogue on tactical nuclear weapons, as well.

Unfortunately, however, the positions of Washington and Moscow on this problem differ substantially. The recent statement by General Galvin, supreme commander of the allied NATO Armed Forces in Europe bears witness to this, in particular. He declared that the Western allies should not join in negotiations at which it would be necessary to repudiate such weapons, but, on the contrary, modernization. To put it in specific terms, what he meant is replace the Lance missiles sited in the FRG with a new, more accurate U.S. nuclear missile system with an operational range of up to 480 km—that is, nearly four times greater.

An evident paradox emerges: Our country and its Warsaw Pact allies are currently reducing on a unilateral basis their armed forces by 556,000 men, and also the corresponding weaponry. In addition to this, the Soviet Union is to withdraw from central Europe formations and units with their full complement of weapons [so vsemi ih shtatnimi vooruzheniyami], including tactical nuclear systems. Meanwhile, NATO, under the guise of modernization, is discussing plans for increasing nuclear weapons in Europe. Such plans are absolutely not in keeping with the tendency toward lowering the level of weapons and toward political relaxation of tension between East and West. The European public is becoming increasingly aware of this. It is no mere chance that the problem of modernization of NATO's nuclear weapons in Europe has recently become a very sensitive barometer of the state of relations between the members of this military alliance. It is such a sensitive barometer that some official U.S. spokesmen have even called for public discusion of the issue to be stopped.

The significance of this discussion goes far beyond the framework of the problem of whether or not new U.S. missiles with a range of up to 500 km are to replace the present Lance systems in Europe. Other, far more important NATO problems are related to the question of modernization. Dependent upon how this issue is resolved are both the reaction of the Atlanticists to the so-called Gorbachev effect—as the influence of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives upon world public opinion is described in the West—and the role of nuclear weapons in the military strategy of the North Atlantic bloc, and the conduct of the general foreign policy of this alliance.

The recent familiarization visit to the European NATO countries by the new U.S. Secretary of State James Baker once again put into high relief the question of modernization, and revealed serious disagreements within the alliance on this issue. These showed how much less popular in Western Europe is the U.S. idea alleging that a military threat still exists on the continent from the Soviet Union. And this is far from being an attempt to portray a wish as the reality. Such a reappraisal of values is taking place as a result of the specific unilateral steps undertaken by our country toward disarmament, establishing a climate of trust, and the transfer to a defensive structure of the Soviet Armed Forces.

By the way, U.S. Secretary of State Baker held his first meeting with jounalists after his return to Washington from his West European tour. Asked whether modernization of nuclear forces in Europe is possible at the same time as maintaining the FRG as an ally, Baker replied in the affirmative. According to him, work on this question would be conducted jointly with West Germany until the NATO summit meeting.

Lobov Appointed Pact Joint Forces Chief of Staff
PM2402165989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian25 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed announcement: "On the Chief of Staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact States"]

[Text] The governments of the Warsaw Pact states have appointed Army General V.N. Lobov chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact States.

Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov was born in 1935, is a Russian, and has been a CPSU member since 1959. He is a graduate of the M.V. Frunze Military Academy and the General Staff Military Academy. He commanded a regiment, a division, an army, and the troops of a military district. Since 1987 he has been first deputy chief of staff of the USSR Armed Forces. He is a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and doctor of military sciences.

Talyzin, Sychev Answer Questions on CEMA Programs
LD2302101989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2049 GMT 20 Feb 89

["Meeting With the Press" program, presented by L.A. Voznesenskiy, with Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR's permanent representative in CEMA; CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Sychev; and audience participants asking questions; video shows program participants on a rostrum, and views of audience in hall]

[Excerpts] [Voznesenskiy] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, and comrades. In January of this year it was the 40th anniversary of one of the largest international organizations—Vladimirovich Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Union's permanent representative in CEMA, and CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Sychev. I think that in the traditional fashion we will begin with a few introductory words from our participants. If you please, Nikolay Vladimirovich:

[Talyzin] Thank you Lev Aleksandrovich. To speak very briefly by way of introduction, within the bounds of a few minutes, one can say first of all that during those years the CEMA countries have traveled along a very great road. Very dynamic production, scientific, and technological cooperation has gotten under way within the CEMA framework in those years. A number of very great joint works, even by world notions of understanding, enormous in their significance, were implemented, built in our countries. Where do the main problems lie? We see that the dynamics of our mutual turnover of trade have dropped recently. The model of cooperation which existed before the level of interstate agreements, and in the main at the level of planning bodies, has, putting it bluntly, become out of date. This is understood by all the countries. The opportunity has now appeared to, so-to-speak, give an enormous impetus, a new impetus, to cooperation, by involving associations and enterprises, that is, those who, so-to-speak, should in the main now be involved in cooperation. I would simply say that the possibilities are unlimited.

[Voznesenskiy] Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, if you please:

[Sychev] Thank you Lev Aleksandrovich. Indeed, the creation of CEMA 40 years ago was a necessary step, and a very large step in the development of a community of socialist formation—a proper structure of cooperation, in the setting up of a system of bilateral and multilateral economic relations between CEMA member countries. Today, in interpreting what has been achieved over those 40 years, we are analyzing the problems which CEMA member countries have come up against in their cooperation, and we are chiefly thinking about how we are to move further, together. Not only are we thinking about this, but we are also working out concrete decisions, and it probably makes sense to stress that the restructuring of our mechanism of multilateral cooperation is, in the final analysis, directed at the creation of conditions so as to form a united market in the future between CEMA member countries. Of course, this is not a straightforward task: It will require great efforts, but we will resolve it.

[Voznesenskiy, addressing audience] We'll go on to your questions and replies, respectively. Yes, go ahead please.

[Unidentified voice] I have a question for Comrade Talyzin in connection with bilateral ties. What are the interests of the Soviet Union in bilateral trade with the socialist countries?

[Talyzin] What benefit does the Soviet Union derive from cooperation with Hungary, or in general with the countries of the CEMA? I think it would be right to put the question in a different way. What benefit do all the CEMA countries derive from cooperation? That is, this is in the fullest sense the most diverse complementarity of our economies. I cannot imagine how the economy of one country can exist at the current time without such a close interconnection with the economies of other countries. Trade is at the present time not only the acquisition of what I have, or of what I have in surplus. At the present time advanced trade consists in commerce, in new technologies, knowledge, that is, in those types and means of production which rapidly renew production and make this production as up-to-date as possible. We have been engaged in this field to a lesser degree. In the next five-year plan we have in mind, within the framework of the CEMA countries, to conduct approximately half of the commodity turnover—I fear to say more—between the enterprises and associations, that is, the immediate producers. From there, events will develop in this way: Market relations will develop, this is already clear. We understand that this forms a great stimulus in attracting the immediate producers and in raising their interest. We see how interest in these affairs is vigorously growing, but all of this will occur in combination, in

sensible combination with the planned foundations of our economy, which exists in our country, and in Hungary, and in Czechoslovakia, and everywhere. We aren't planning to abandon them. That is, the combination will be sensible, where planned principles are needed, in very major matters, and where immediate commodity relations are needed, in the case of the customer and the producer. That's how it will be.

[Voznesesnkiy] We have been promised, and by Comrade Sychev in particular, that there will be more glasnost in CEMA activities. When will journalists be able to attend CEMA commission sessions? And where and when can we find out the content of, for example, the collective programs for cooperation with Cuba and Vietnam? USSR Gosteleradio, Comrade Melnichenko has sent this note.

[Talyzin] I can reply to that right away, in all....

[Sychev, interrupts] Well, in the first place, it has been decided to make the process of discussing matters at meetings of CEMA bodies much more open, both at the session, and at the Executive Committee, and at meetings of the committees and standing commissions. It has been decided in particular that journalists from the CEMA member countries accredited to the session press center can now take part in meetings of the session, just like journalists from the observer countries represented at the session. Analogous procedures have also been adopted for the CEMA organs, that is, for the Executive Committee, and for the standing commissions and the CEMA committees. Second, the Executive Committee reports on the work of CEMA between sessions—that is, our, as it were, annual final document, which is submitted by the Executive Committee for examination by the session—and a whole series of other materials which will form the object of examination at the session will be delivered as open documents, and thus, of course, accessible to the press.

[Terekhov] Gosteleradio. Tell me please, are there already any specific visions of how this market will function? Will there be free, open borders, a free choice of partners? Will there be convertible currency for the CEMA member countries inside CEMA or a single unit of conversion? That is, something more or less specific.

[Sychev] As concerns the united market: You know that the thesis of a united market among the CEMA member countries was formulated for the first time by the 43d extraordinary CEMA session, and at the 44th session, in July last year, 9 member CEMA countries agreed on the need—as it was put in the decision of the session—to study the conditions and prerequisites for the creation in the long term of a united socialist market among CEMA member countries. It is of course envisaged that it will be formed on a voluntary basis, depending on the degree to which economic, organizational, and other prerequisites have developed in each of the countries.

Of course, a most important condition for the creation of such a market lies in the free circulation of goods among the CEMA member countries—goods, services, and other production factors—and in accordance with the documents recently adopted by CEMA, primarily, the collective conception of the international division of socialist labor—our economic interaction is currently oriented toward increasing the production of high-quality competitive goods. In order to create a united market, you have to saturate the domestic markets with the necessary quantity of goods. Also at issue is an expansion in the sphere of quota-free trade; a rapprochement in the national systems of pricing—that didn't figure in your question, but it's a very important thesis, the bringing together of the national pricing systems—the linking of internal, contract, and world prices; the transition to the convertibility of national currencies into one another and into convertible rubles; and then, in the long term, of course, the task of the convertibility of these mutually convertible currencies into freely convertible currency will arise. Finally, mention has to be made of the fact that such new elements in our trade relations, which have been developing in the recent period as border trade between the CEMA member countries, as direct commodity exchange between department stores, also promotes progress along this road.

[Talyzin] I would like to add a couple of words on the united market. My friends, quite honestly, we began studying the matter of a united market very recently. Previously we thought that we simply had no such need, that the mechanism which was previously in operation suited us, more or less. My personal opinion is that I think this shouldn't be postponed. We have to engage in this market without delay. In what way? We have now determined, that is agreed, where to get the goods for this market. The same way as throughout the world, as everywhere, this has to be trading houses, wholesale fairs, exhibitions of commodity samples, catalogues with prices, and so on. And fairs. This fair [as heard] was functioning for 10 days, and all of the elements which ought to be on the market were present there. Present were competition, elements of competition. Five countries exhibited the most up-to-date computing equipment, personal computers; the GDR, Bulgaria, and CSSR, Hungary and—er, five, I'll remember it in minute—Poland. And so the customers very quickly got the idea where the most up-to-date equipment was. That is, it was already possible to choose, agree on prices, and so on. For the first time I heard there that representatives of various countries were going back and forth, and saying: 'Where can I change foreign currency?' So what do we want to do? A trading center, perhaps it'll take a month yet—where we'll exhibit samples, and everything that we sell; there'll be large catalogues there, and so on. We have come to an agreement with the banks whereby once such wide-scale trade starts, then the banks have to service all this. Vibrant work is under way, this is the

beginning, but it's the beginning of vibrant work. What is required of us?—to support and expand this work in every possible way. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified voice] Nikolay Vladimirovich, the enthusiasm within the CEMA framework for the creation of joint enterprises does not seem to be confirmed by the figures. More that 100 joint enterprises have been set up with the capitalist countries, and something between 20 and 30 with the socialist countries.

[Talyzin] I wouldn't count like that. Three days ago I asked at the Chamber of Trade and Industry...[changes thought] and they are in charge of this work, and are indeed doing a lot of work on eliciting those wishing to engage in this cooperation; I, unfortunately, didn't bring with me several copies of their output, covering various dimensions, where there are whole lists of our enterprises and of the CEMA member countries, where it is written: partner of: partner of. So, when I asked what is going on in this field, it emerged that over the last year, year and a half, there has been a tremendous aspiration both on the part of our enterprises and on the part of the enterprises of the CEMA member countries—more than 2,000 major associations and enterprises are currently working jointly, and approximately the same number again wishing to unite their efforts in joint production, or in cooperative production, various forms of uniting efforts. I think that this process within the CEMA framework will in the near future develop very quickly. So, if we look at it from this point of view, if we take all forms of cooperation more broadly, then, of course, there are within the CEMA framework incomparably more of all types of contacts and joint cooperation than we have as yet with the capitalist countries. Although there, too, we are also open and ready to develop this as much as possible.

[Voznesenskiy] We have at least three questions that have come in the course of our meeting in written form.

[Talyzin] Yes, one question is to me. It is well-known that the IPSTP [Integrated Program for Scientific and Technical Progress] is being implemented with great difficulty. The creation of joint enterprises is also progressing slowly. What is the reason for these difficulties and, the main thing, what is being done to remove these causes?

[Voznesenskiy] Obviously, everyone present knows what the IPSTP is! But in any event, I'll decode; it is the Integrated Program for Scientific and Technical Progress.

[Talyzin] Yes, yes.

[Sychev] Up to the year 2000.

[Voznesenskiy] There, you see, as a collective we've got the whole formula!

[Talyzin] Well, to speak of the IPSTP as a whole, I am personally fully convinced that the areas of scientific cooperation, the five most important areas, have been correctly chosen. Experience shows that these are really the most relevant areas in the development of world science and technology. There are no doubts on this score. It can be said that cooperation within the scope of this program has begun to yield concrete practical results. We can already count dozens of examples of specific operations which are under way. But I would put it like this, that in general, the IPSTP consists of two parts, that is, there are problems which are really of paramount significance in this program, and there are many of them. They comprise what is connected with basic science. The second part of this problem has to consist in this—we are currently all engaged in this—in rapidly picking out from this large program those concrete things which can be rapidly and even immediately introduced so as to obtain from them an economic and scientific effect, and this work doesn't affect this program alone, but in general what is being done on this level. [passage omitted]

'Roundtable' on Middle East, Bush Visit to Asia
LD2602191189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 26 Feb 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Vitaliy Yakovlevish Chukseyev, member of the board of TASS and TASS chief foreign news editor; Vsevolod Ivanovich Soova, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate; and All-Union Radio commentator Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello comrades. When we talk about international events in this program we usually restrict ourselves to those that have occured during the preceding week. Yesterday was the third anniversary of the 27th CPSU Congress, which, in many ways, we take as the starting point of our restructuring work, and this gives us the opportunity to take a broad look at the subject. Speaking during his meeting with working people in Kiev, Comrade Gorbachev drew a highly detailed picture of the profound changes for the better that have taken place in the Soviet Union's position in the world over the past 3 years. There has been a huge change compared to the situation just a few years ago. The security of our country is now far greater; our relations with the outside world are improving in virtually every area; dialogue has become the norm; the negotiating processes, despite their complexity, have produced major results, allowing us to begin real arms reductions, settle regional conflicts, and steadily improve the international climate.

I do not want to spend too much time on things that are common knowledge, but just look how much more vigorous our foreign policy has become over the past few years. Let us take, as an example, Comrade Shevardnadze's present trip to the Middle East. If you recall, the last time our foreign minister visited that region was 15 years ago, so that there is nothing surprising in the very high level of interest generated by the trip everywhere.

[Chukseyev] I think there are two reasons for this particular interest in Comrade Shevardnadze's trip. First, for many years now, unfortunately, the Middle East has been the number one area in the world in the intensity and number of conflicts, including armed conflicts; second, this is the foreign minister's first visit to the Middle East since the Soviet Union proclaimed the new political thinking, which it is now actively underpinning with concrete actions. This was precisely how the world viewed Comrade Shevardnadze's meeting with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens. An account of that meeting in Cairo has been published in our newspapers, along with the text of Comrade Shevardnadze's Cairo speech.

As to the comments of the world press on those talks—the first of their kind in more than 20 years—it was noted that they have not yet managed to bring Israel around to the idea of an international conference and contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization. It should be mentioned that almost simultaneously Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, was also voicing a negative view in this respect during his talks in Paris, thereby ignoring President Mitterrand's appeal for the real situation now prevailing in the Middle East to be taken into account, particularly since the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories began their uprising. Anyway, to get back to the Soviet foreign minister's trip, the French paper LIBERATION wrote that the Russians are showing themselves capable of maintaining far greater contacts with both parties in the conflict than the United States, whose dialogue with the PLO is limited to their ambassador in Tunis. In Great Britain, THE INDEPENDENT pointed out that the world public is now entitled to expect Washington to make an appropriate contribution to a Middle East settlement. The objective of U.S. diplomacy the paper continues, should now be to help Tel Aviv perceive political realities as soon as possible.

[Pasko] I would say that at last the world community is now coming to realize the need to set the wheels of a comprehensive Middle East settlement in motion.

[Soova] In the responses we have heard today—Vitaliy Yakovlevich has defined very precisely the scale and direction of the dialogue now underway—the chief point being made is that the chance of a historic compromise is bring created in the Middle East. If, to once again use Eduard Amvrosiyevich's phrase, the Middle East is a museum of lost civilizations, one can, with absolute conviction, come to the conclusion that it is time to gather stones. These stones, however, have to be gathered in a very difficult and unusual way.

First of all, there are the bilateral visits that have taken place there. I remind you of the visit by former Secretary of State Shultz, and many others, which aimed at finding the key—by spending long hours in the air flying from one capital to another—to reaching an agreement and at setting pointers toward, among other things, an international conference.

Those visits were not in vain. It is just that now, following the consultations in the Security Council, following the superpower dialogue, and the contacts with our Israeli partner—and this is stated in the report—an opportunity is arising not only for an analysis of the situation in the Middle East, for an indication of precisely what ought to be done. I would like to emphasize something you mentioned earlier, that the political thinking is not yet triumphant, but it does give us a perfectly clear awareness of the formulas used by partners who still did not succeed in finding a common language during that visit. The issue is that freedom of choice, which is one of the tenets of the new political thinking, is really a precondition for solving regional conflicts. If I can add just a word or two more, the Middle East is currently at the bottom of the list of regional conflicts as far as progress toward a solution is concerned....

[Pasko, interrupting] But it is far higher up concerning its importance.

[Soova] This is why the need for such an earnest and immediate settlement is arising. Vitaliy Yakovlevich has mentioned examples from the past, but let us bring in a few current figures: There is so much weaponry concentrated there, in the Middle East, that it's difficult to imagine. There are 7 million armed men in the area, and it is now in third place after NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization in total military expenditure.

[Pasko] How is one to explain Israel's refusal to accept the idea of an international conference? Even now, after the PLO has proclaimed its own state, announced its willingness to coexist with Israel under conditions of peace and security, and denounced terrorism, it is being described by Israel as a terrorist organization. To justify this view they are noting, in particular, that not all the organizations that make up the PLO have supported the Palestinian leadership's new policy. Of course, unless the sides assume clear-cut obligations not to encourage subversive activities against one another, whether directly or indirectly, there can be little hope of productive dialogue, yet given the desire to do so, such obligations could be thrashed out. As I see it, the real reason for Israel's rejection of the idea of an international conference is an unwillingness to accept the decisions to which it would lead.

Let's take, as an example, the liberation of the occupied Arab territories: What would this mean for Israel, which has alrady set up hundreds of settlements in those areas and obtains cheap labor resources from them? I think that some influence is also being exerted on Israel in this respect by external forces endeavouring to prevent the Soviet Union from strengthening its positions in the Near East. Given the threat posed to the world by the lack of settlement in the Near East, this policy looks particularly shortsighted. The Soviet foreign minister stated that the USSR is in favor of eliminating all forms of competition between the superpowers; we have to discard the policy of forcing each other out of the region and get down to constructive cooperation for the sake of peace and tranquility in the Near East.

[Soova] I would say that the time of one-sided monologues is coming to an end, and there have been more than enough of them. We know what Israeli foreign policy has had to say, and how stubborn it has been regarding a whole range of fundamental issues on which there has now been, at least, a change of key. The time for dialogue is arriving—patient dialogue—involving, I would reckon, more and more new partners. Israel has nothing to fear from a conference. Far from suffering any adverse effects, its security will actually increase as will that of the other states in the region. In international language this is known as guarantees. If such guarantees are given to other states as well, if the incipient dialogue with the PLO continues, and if all the pros and cons are weighed, then clearly progress is possible in this respect. But I believe that if a conference were to be convened this in itself would be so significant that it would become possible to use all means of seeking a compromise. An important role in this could be played by the United Nations and its special representative for Near East affairs—a proposal that was put very forcibly in Cairo.

[Pasko] We know that the Soviet leadership is currently drawing up a Near East settlement plan. The basis of this plan is the top priority policy line set forth by Comrade Gorbachev at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, a policy of joint action by countries and governments to solve international and regional problems.

Last week President Bush embarked on his first foreign trip, which will take him to Japan, China, and South Korea. Officially, the visit was in connection with the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito last Thursday, but the political nature of the visit is obvious. As the President's national security adviser, Scowcroft, stated, the visit is intended not only to indicate the great significance the U.S. attaches to the development of the countries being visited by the President, but also to demonstrate Asia's growing importance for U.S. relations as a whole.

[Chukseyev] Of course, the significance of this visit goes far beyond the framework of protocol. Japan is now, on the one hand, one of the United States' major allies in the Asian Pacific region and, on the other, a powerful economic rival in both the various areas of the world and within the United States itself. It was no accident that prior to this trip, journalists asked Bush at a press conference: Mr. President, how would you calm those Americans who fear Japanese economic might and the fact that the Japanese are buying too much within the U.S. economy and own too much of it?

Bush is currently in the People's Republic of China. Maintaining friendly relations with China is, as U.S. officials stress, of great significance for U.S. foreign policy, and the United States will therefore strive to develop them. Qian Qichen, PRC minister of foreign affairs, in an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES welcomed the Bush visit, noting that it will be of great significance. At the same time, he said there are barriers in the way of developing Chinese-U.S. relations and that the main one of these is divergence of opinion over Taiwan. The minister called upon the U.S. to promote the process of reuniting Taiwan with continental China. At the same time, U.S. observers believe the choice of timing of this visit is no accident, bearing in mind that in May there is to be a Sino-Soviet summit.

Bush will then make a short stop in South Korea where he will meet President No Tae-U. It is being stated that the visit will be of a familiarizing nature. It is not impossible that this trip will, for Bush, be shadowed by widespread anti-American demonstrations when the scale of such demonstrations over recent years is taken into account.

I have before me the latest report from a TASS correspondent. It says that the public security administration has given an instruction to have the police put on full combat readiness on 25 February. Particular attention is at the same time ordered to be given to protecting the official representatives of the United States.

[Soova] Both Beijing and Tokyo are routes of Soviet diplomacy. The Soviet minister of foreign affairs was there not long ago. Comrade Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has only just been to Japan, where he had thorough conversations with eminent Japanese politicians and it seems to me that this kind of interface in the South Pacific area is useful for solving common problems. It will help to better see other aspects of cooperation. Moreover, when our minister was in China, he officially underscored that strengthening our mutual relations and the forthcoming visit to Beijing by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on 15-18 May are not aimed against states large or small. I think the U. S. President can sense in this atmosphere the sincerity of this statement and the desire of the sides, the Soviet Union and China at least, to work together for the sake of universal peace.

[Chukseyev] I agree, Vsevolod Ivanovich. If one looks at the recent commentaries of the U.S. press, I get the impression that, now at least, U.S. observers are moving away from the former, fairly primitive stereotypes when it was a matter of playing the Japanese, Chinese, and other cards.

[Pasko] You are quite correct.

[Chukseyev] Instead of a game of cards we are now, I hope, witnessing joint diplomatic efforts.

[Pasko] The course we have adopted toward making maximum use of political opportunities for lifting international tension, reaching mutual understanding with the West, and unravelling the most complex tangles of international contradiction by means of talks and seeking out reasonable compromises, has opened up great possibilities. This line has already permitted getting off the ground such a block as Soviet-U.S. confrontation; removing from the road of peace and progress the alienation that existed between the Soviet Union and China, and increasing the dynamics of our relations with many developing countries, above all with India. It has led to major changes in Europe. It is already more than 10 days since, under the Geneva accords, our troops left Afghanistan. For the moment, the situation in that country remains complex. However, it is developing in a way that is quite different from that planned by the Afghan Government's internal and external opponents.

[Chukseyev] Literally a day after the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan—you recall that this was in April 1988—many Western observers hastened to prophesy with regard to the fact that once the Soviet troops had left, the Communist regime in Kabul would, as they claimed, immediately collapse. They even gave a specific date: 16 February this year. Not much time has passed yet since 16 February, admittedly. However, it is already possible to make the first assessments of the situation in Afghanistan. I would call it stable overall. It goes without saying that in various areas armed clashes continue between subdivisions of government troops and formations of the irreconcilable opposition. However, these have not led to substantive changes. In some places the opposition has gained a degree of success, elsewhere it is the government troops.

[Soova] I think that on that day, 16 February, diplomatic workers and not only at No 32-34 Smolenskaya [word indistinct] Square but in many other countries of the world, took hold of the Afghan package, the agreements on Afghanistan. We naturally and with satisfaction put large red tics beside those points that affected the Soviet Union but looked closely at the clauses of the document regarding what our partners should do; I mean Pakistan, the irreconcilable opposition, and of course, the United States of America.

It seems to me that there is some kind of confusion among those taking part in the agreement. Either someone did not believe that Soviet troops would be withdrawn or someone expected more military trickery. In the USSR Foreign Ministry press center the question was actively raised: Won't you operate from your own territory? Having in mind the very rich experience of the United States in this regard. When they discovered that this was not the case, a certain pause ensued. Moreover, this can be compared with the fairy tale situation in the Kingdom of Sleep when the command freeze is heard and the figures either start to stand motionless or to imitate activity very slowly.

In particular, very serious aid measures must be undertaken through the channel of the United Nations. The USSR has contributed a large sum to the general fund of the organization. Food was purchased. Airplanes were already prepared but some sort of forces drew the planes off away from the runways, in particular in Islamabad. Civil aviation pilots were intimidated. We know cases involving aircraft of the Egyptian and Ethiopian air companies, involving a Swedish airplane. Certain people obviously subjected to invisible pressure the truck drivers who could bring aid to Kabul. What I would like to stress here is that in the West at present the new public opinion of a purely humanitarian nature is very slow in paving a way for itself. There are bold people, but the attempts are very timid. Yet there are children there who need medical help, medicine. There are a whole range of humanitarian problems there, which in fact relate not to any section of opposing groups, not to any section. What is involved here is helping the population, above all the civil population, children, rather than the combatants as it says in international law.

[Pasko] Public opinion would be very necessary to stop arms supplies to the Afghan opposition. The attempts of the United States and Pakistan to create a certain viable

political organism from individual elements of the opposition seems to me, as before, to have little prospect of being realized. The Afghan opposition does not have a common constructive program or to any extent an intelligible concept of the further political and socioeconomic development of the country.

The motives ruling the behavior of many group leaders involved in confrontation are the sense of vengeance, personal ambitions, and clan solidarity. Thinking in terms of the victories and defeats of one or another side involved in confrontation as is done in the West only means encouraging the bloodshed to continue.

[Soova] And then clearly there is a split between those who stand on a constructive position, that is the government, a large proportion of the public who are supporting the PDPA, those who are feeding the people, and supplying fuel to residences. The other proportion is completely destructive. Not a single seed has been planted by any of them in the suffering Afghan soil. Of course, standing with an automatic machinegun and taking up positions at antiaircraft guns which can shoot down civil aircraft as well—this is no role to be playing in a state where there are no foreign troops.

[Pasko] Yes, but I would also like now to switch to the question of what is going on in West Europe now. In NATO countries the polemic is not dying down on the question of modernizing short-range nuclear missiles. After the visit to West Europe by U.S. Secretary of State Baker, who tried to secure the agreement of NATO allies to this, British Prime Minister Thatcher, having the same aim, paid a visit to the FRG last week. Well, admittedly, with no success. The position of Bonn remained unchanged. I do not wish to dwell on the motives ruling the FRG Government. This would make a special conversation. I want to draw your attention to another matter. Those who support keeping nuclear weapons on the continent have always explained and are continuing to explain their position by using the Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional forces and weapons. They keep talking about this superiority now, even after the unilateral reductions in conventional forces announced by the Warsaw Pact countries, and after the publication of statistics on these forces, which show a parity in them between the two blocs.

What is more, in Vienna in a week, the long-awaited talks are opening at last between NATO and Warsaw Pact representatives on questions relating to reductions in conventional forces and weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. It would seem that now is the best time to cease all talk about modernizing nuclear weapons. But we are observing the opposite. How can one explain this behavior?

[Soova] This phenomenon is difficult to explain. Nevertheless a certain explanation can be discerned. Evidently NATO's long-term plans were drawn up a long time ago. And what has been planned is being carried out now without taking account of one kind of Vienna talks having ended and another kind beginning, without taking into account the publication of the statement by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee on the correlation of the two blocs' armed forces, and without taking into account the considerable unilateral reductions which have been and are being carried out in certain types of very important armaments. It seems to me that the pull and push of a system is operating here. On the one hand, there is a wish so to speak to meet halfway in the talks, and on the other hand, old intentions and old plans are pulling back. One should bear in mind the drawn-out discussion procedure in NATO and the number of states. In addition, there are also evidently the interests of those who manufacture and modernize these weapons.

[Chukseyev] You know, Vsevolod Ivanovich, I have recently come across a curious report by a European observer about the fact that to his knowledge, the NATO countries intend to take a few steps to reciprocate, although, as he put it, on a limited scale, at the upcoming talks which will open on 6 March. Time will tell whether these forecasts come true. But now one can say with full confidence that the West, Western leaders, are under the influence of very strong pressure from the public. The moods in favor of changes in NATO's present policy toward disarmament could be clearly observed throughout the entire route of the recent trip Secretary of State Baker made to Canada and the countries of Western Europe. In the opinion of Western experts and officials, wrote the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST at that time, the United States will have to react now ever more frequently not only to Gorbachev's initiatives, but also to the increasingly popular moods in Western Europe, according to which the epoch of the ideological and military partition of Europe brought about by World War II is drawing to an end. This idea seems to me correct. I would expand it by saying that the official beginning of the Cold War was marked by Churchill's sadly famous speech in Fulton, the 43d anniversary of which will, incidentally, be 5 March.

[Soova] This sort of historical paradox helps one understand sometimes what is happening at the moment. Why? Because it is definitely necessary to recall a setback to aim at success. Last December in the small town of Baden, near Vienna, I was ceremonially shown the place where talks had been proceeding fruitlessly for 15 years on the reduction in the forces and armaments in central Europe. They say that the diplomats who took part in these talks left without making any public appearances because these talks were just long-running time-wasting.

At the same time at another site in Vienna, the Vienna agreement was signed. Now the diplomats who will be meeting at the negotiation table—this applies to all the diplomats—will think about speeches that failed, about sessions that wasted time, about documents that failed, and about haste and superficiality. It seems to me that this is also a sign of the new political thinking.

[Pasko] You know, it seems to me, too, that the present talks in Vienna will be both more dynamic and productive. This is not just optimism accompanying the beginning of any new deed. The situation in the world is completely different. Even taking into account all objective and subjective complexities which exist, the new political thinking is nevertheless being asserted in international affairs. Well comrades, our program time has drawn to an end. Thank you for this meeting. All the best.

People's Deputies Candidates Discuss World Issues
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["Studio 9" program, presented by Prof Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet Television and Radio, with Academician Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Soviet Association for Promoting the United Nations; Academician Iosifovich Goldanskiy, director of the Chemical Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee; and Aleksandr Yevgenyevich Bovin, columnist and IZVESTIYA political observer]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. We meet here in "Studio 9" at the Ostankino Television Center to discuss topical problems of world politics. Today, we have invited some of the regular authors of "Studio 9"—I think that referring to our regular participants as authors or co-authors of this program is appropriate. Today, we have invited those regular authors of our program who in recent weeks have been given the high honor of being nominated as candidates to run in the elections for Soviet people's deputies. They are Academician Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Soviet Association for Promoting the United Nations; Academician Vitaliy Iosifovich Goldanskiy, director of the Chemical Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee; and Aleksandr Yevgenyevich Bovin, a well-known Soviet columnist and IZVESTIYA political observer.

I think that there is no doubt that all the participants in our program are in agreement with the foreign policy platform, which is tied to restructuring and the new thinking being implemented by the Soviet state. Therefore, the topic for our talk today will, on the whole, be devoted I think to restructuring and foreign policy.

Although everyone is in agreement with this platform, I think that each one of you has his own priorities in the foreign policy area, something which you consider to be particularly important or significant. Also, what will you do to implement these priorities into foreign policy practice should you be elected? I would like to begin our talk today by putting the same question to all of you, and I would ask that you answer as concisely as possible: On what would you concentrate your efforts should you become a deputy; what would be your main focus of attention? Let us begin with you, Georgiy Arkadyevich.

[Arbatov] I think that it is in the sphere of foreign policy that restructuring has achieved its most noticeable and impressive successes. Nevertheless, this should be regarded merely as the beginning. It should be understood that much remains to be achieved in order to strengthen and deepen the changes that have begun to take place. In this regard, certainly there are a series of questions which I feel to be of primary importance. These include such things as the demilitarization of international relations, the conversion of the military economy, the reduction of military forces, the increased role of the United Nations, and—something which preoccupies me the most—glasnost in foreign and military policies and the return to Lenin's principles of open diplomacy.

The second question which greatly concerns me is the complete and effective utilization of foreign contacts, foreign policy, and the use of world experience in the interest of developing the economy, as well as the social, political, and cultural development of our country. I feel that this question is of primary importance. In this area, we have only scratched the surface. The concept of our platform in this area has not yet become consolidated.

[Zorin] Thank you. Vitaliy Iosifovich, please.

[Goldanskiy] I am one of the candidates representing the Soviet Peace Fund and the various public committees connected with it. Two such committees represent the sciences—the Soviet Pugwash Committee and the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against Nuclear Threat. Therefore, I would like to speak today about issues in which the problems of scientific and technological progress are particularly closely connected with the new political thinking, as well as noting the participation of scientists in what is today called people's diplomacy. I would name four such instances: First, it is necessary to abandon the antiquated and ruinously costly principle of military parity and to adopt the reasonable and reliable principle of defense sufficiency.

Without this we will never achieve parity in the nondefense [mirnyy] branches of the economy and in reducing the gap that separates our living standards with those enjoyed in most capitalist countries. Briefly summarizing, we can no longer live beyond our means. This simple, common wisdom must be kept in mind and be applied on the state level.

Second, the principle of nuclear deterrent, which is also antiquated and no longer acceptable, must give way to what I call the verification deterrent. By verification I

mean the most severe mutual control and checking procedures, with the use of the most up-to-date scientific and technical means—space, informatics, and microelectronics.

Third, I would call this taking the blinkers off. We have to put an end to the mindless restrictions on information access applied to the Soviet people—the unnecessary security restrictions and withholding of information which have neither state or military value. I repeat: Security restrictions, particularly in informatics and space, are particularly mindless under conditions when, the whole planet, so to speak, has been turned into a communal apartment.

[Zorin interrupts] What do you mean, Vitaliy Iosifovich?

[Goldanskiy] Everyone knows what his neighbor is doing anyway.

[Bovin] What the neighbor is preparing for lunch.

[Goldanskiy] What really happens—and I can give you many examples of this—is that things that are kept secret from our people are already well-known abroad.

Finally, I want to speak about the painful subject of ecology and the relationship between ecology and energy. This includes Chernobyl and all that is to be learned from it, and other aspects about which I would like to speak, time permitted.

[Zorin] Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, please.

[Bovin] Since I am a candidate representing the journalists, I would like to talk about this and continue with the ecology subject. We speak of cultural ecology. Why not about the ecology of journalism? Certainly we are better off than the endangered elephants in Africa or the Volga sturgeon. But, on the whole, the situation with journalists is not particularly good. According to an UN report, the mortality rate among journalists is very high. In simpler terms, many people continue to tell us what to write, what not to write, how to write, and how not to write. All this is continuing to this very day. What is needed here is a clear and precise law which would provide us with the opportunity to work freely and to say and write what the public needs. This is one of the major points of my program. The other is to raise the social status of journalists. The situation with journalists is not good, but you should take a look at what is happening in oblasts and rayons, at the situation with the journalists there. This is what I call the ecology of journalism and I will be attempting to achieve some progress in this area. Some progress has been made, but more is needed.

Another topic of particular interest to me is the formation of a law-abiding state. I think that one of the sore spots which still remains in our restructuring is the question of law. No matter which recent law you care to take, whether on cooperation, leasing, nature protection, or state enterprise, invariably a system of reservations are built in which allows for these laws to be only partially fulfilled. Somehow or other, the legal system has to be brought into order. Following this, it is necessary to synchronize our international undertakings—now I have touched on the foreign aspect—with our internal laws. This relates to the huge human rights topic. I think that we can touch on this topic. Finally, I support the position of glasnost in foreign policy. For us these questions remain very critical. Certainly we have made noticeable progress in this area, but, generally speaking, much, much more progress has to be made before we reach the level of international standards.

[Zorin] Thank you. On the one hand, your answers have been very concise. On the other hand, many questions have been raised and they are of such a serious nature that I feel that we will be unable to deal with all of them completely today. Therefore, I think we will dwell on part of what has been mentioned today. I would like to start with you, Georgiy Arkadyevich. You have mentioned a number of very serious positions and problems to which you would like to address your efforts. With what will you begin?

[Arbatov] One has to begin with everything. The situation that has developed is such that nothing can be postponed. I would like to say that I will defend my ideas to the extent of my capabilities. Since a deputy has more opportunities to do so, I have agreed to run for election. I think that glasnost in foreign policy, that is, the return to the Leninist principles of open diplomacy, is of permanent significance. Unquestionably, we have made progress and strides in this area. But candidly, we still have not even reached the level of the 1920's, when the finest questions pertaining even to the negotiations held at that time, were openly and publicly discussed. I do not deny that there are secrets in foreign and military policy and so forth, but these should be very few. In Lenin's time both the Brest peace treaty and the preparations for the Genoa conference, discussions pertaining to military doctrine, military development, were all conducted openly in the 1920's. We have forgotten this. We must return to an understanding of what is normal in this regard.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, I do not want to appear like a retrograde in the eyes of our television viewers, but nevertheless I want to ask you: Say we have the kind of glasnost that you are talking about, could it conceivably weaken the position of our delegation on the eve of some negotiations with our partners if we lay all our cards on the table, or not?

[Arbatov] Well you know....

[Bovin, interrupting] This is in the sphere of tactics, this is quite another issue.

[Arbatov] Well, generally I consider, for example, that many military programs would not have come about if there was simply elementary (?patience). After all, was it not clear that the Krasnoyarsk radar station should not be built because it violates the ABM Treaty? It was clear, but, quietly, quietly, it was done. As far as the SS-20 was concerned, I would say that for me, and I was not a major specialist, particularly at that time, it was clear that it would bring us a lot of trouble, when at the height of detente we suddenly began the mass installation of these new missiles.

But this was all done in secret, secretively, and literally only a few people knew about it. With many issues we must look back even at our past. You understand, we could permit ourselves these things at a time when we were immeasurably weaker, and they did not hinder us, they helped us. It was a principled position. Because the strength of openness, precisely, is on the side of the one who has an honest policy. And if we have an honest policy we always win.

[Bovin] Just imagine. The secretary of state is flying somewhere, he is on his latest voyage, as they write here. Yes, a voyage! If Shevardnadze is flying somewhere it is a journey....

[Goldanskiy, interrupting] Or a tour.

[Bovin] ...Or a visit. But if Shultz is flying somewhere it is a voyage or a tour, yes. But on this voyage, begging your pardon, half of his plane is full of journalists. He takes along representatives of the U.S. press. They are on his plane and fly with him, and instantly, as events develop, he provides the most immediate information. He has finished his talks, say, and he goes to their lounge, talks with them, and there you have it, straight from the horse's mouth!

Now I would like to address a big request to our Minister of Foreign Affairs from us, the journalists. Do not forget us. Your plane is large and reliable.

[Goldanskiy] A few specific examples. First of all, I would like to emphasize in connection with the election of our soviets of people's deputies that commissions of our Supreme Soviet must acquire extraordinary importance. Along lines similar to the Senate hearings that are held in the United States, at which in detail, in the greatest detail with the support of experts....

[Arbatov, interrupting] Only excuse me....

[Goldanskiy, interrupting] ...They go into....

[Arbatov, interrupting] ...More (?honest) than the Senate hearings...

[Goldanskiy] Yes, well at least....

[Arbatov] ...Because, after all, we must and we have something to learn, but we must learn from both good and bad. First of all, I think, we do not even have certain commissions. For example, we do not have an Armed Services Commission and it must be established in the new Supreme Soviet.

[Goldanskiy] In general, the problem of parity is most closely linked with openness in defense spending. If you look at official reports you will see ludicrous figures. If, for example you look at U.S. defense spending in dollars it amounts to 320 billion. Our official figure—in dollars too, according to the current 1989 exchange rate—is 33 billion.

[Bovin, interrupting] Now according to the official exchange rate....

[Arbatov, raising his right hand] No, no, comrades....

[Goldanskiy] Then where is the parity?

[Arbatov] ...Let us be honest. This was explained, and it was explained that this is the sum that is directly allocated to the Ministry of Defense. Period! Now we promised the other data, and it is another matter that we have delayed in fulfilling this promise.

[Goldanskiy, interrupting] That is what we are talking about.

[Arbatov] We promised, because honestly speaking....

[Goldanskiy, interrupting] (?We cannot) [words indistinct]

[Arbatov] ... I suspect that nobody knows how much we are spending.

[Goldanskiy] Precisely.

[Arbatov] All this housekeeping here is in such a state of neglect, all this has become so chaotic over many years that....

[Goldanskiy] I want to cite two specific examples. One from the past, thank God it is in the past now, and the second one from the future. From the past: Before the year before last—I take pride here from the fact that I brought this issue up personally and this matter was taken care of—information was concealed from us that was published openly in foreign scientific magazines. For instance, everything that mentioned the word Chernobyl in its title was cut out and came to us in this carved-up way. Even in headlines it was crossed out. As a result, when we arrived for various talks with our colleagues abroad, they were far better informed about all of this than we were. In other words, we denied ourselves the most necessary information, that as a matter of fact was working in our benefit. This is one example from the past.

Now an example from the future, again relating to military spending and its possible control. Public opinion should play a role in this. I mean the currently much-talked-about problem—a typically destabilizing new military creation—of the Stealth bomber which is invisible to radar. I will not go into technical details and will simply say that the Americans plan to spend $70 billion on an order for 132 of these bombers and are openly saying—a typical example of economic blackmail or bullying—that in so doing they are devaluing 200 million of our spending on the PVO [air defense]. So....

[Arbatov, interrupting] Permit me to clarify things. I am very familiar—I have had it described to me—with the discussion of this question in the U.S. Senate....

[Goldanskiy, interrupting] There is a wide variety of opinions there.

[Arbatov] No, that is not the point. But, the Pentagon was really embarrassed and the Senate was indignant when it became known that each Stealth bomber costs $550 million. The biggest argument which people defending this program had, you know, was: Make the Russians spend four or five times more on strengthening their air defenses. A terrible inferiority complex developed. Of course, there were grounds for this in the past. We were forced to trail behind the Americans, to engage in a nuclear arms and missile race with them. However, a complex now has developed that should the Americans come up with something new, we must invariably come up with something, too, and not just one, but usually two models. For example, the Americans make one new tank; we immediately make three, and so forth!

So you see, the Americans have begun to capitalize on this. A whole series of programs, and generally the entire strategy, the so-called strategy of competition adopted during the Reagan administration, was built not so much on gaining military supremacy....

[Goldanskiy, interrupting] But to ruin, to ruin us.

[Arbatov, continues] ...But to clean us up economically. But we have now become wiser, and for the first time asymmetrical responses have appeared. This has made the Americans very uneasy.

[Zorin] Now, in order not to get stuck on this issue, I want to return to what you said earlier in determining the tasks that you would set for yourself. Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, please tell us in a little more detail what you expressed in such condensed form earlier.

[Bovin] I want to talk about how our internal legislation corresponds to international obligations. This is the topic of human rights. I was in Leningrad recently and walked into the Leningrad OVIR [Department of Visas and Registration of Foreign Citizens]. Rights here are in their natural state, so to speak. I walked into the OVIR. A woman was sitting there behind a sign which read: Inspector-Reviewer. Well, I said, could I please look up the instructions to see what I can and cannot do in terms of leaving the country. No, I cannot let you do that, she replied; it is our internal document. I responded: Well, excuse me. I would like to know what I can and cannot do.

Well, I was escorted to the OVIR chief, a very nice person by the name of Lev Antonovich Savitskiy. We sat down and I said: Please excuse me, but I plan to pester you. Imagine this situation; let us play it out. I have come to you. My name is Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov, and I say: I fought in Poland, for instance, and many of my friends are there; I do not know how many. I simply plan to visit there for about 3 weeks, to travel around. Maybe I will find my friends there. Will you let me go? No, he replied, I cannot let you go. Why? Can you cite a specific law? No. Well, do you have an invitation? I do not have an invitation; nevertheless, is there something in the law about going only on an invitation? Well, it appears again that there is not. All right then, there is an article that says you can go if there is a close relative there who is ill or if someone has died, or for the purposes of inheritance, and other valid reasons. I asked: Who determines these valid and invalid reasons? We determine them, he responded. Well, here is my valid reason, I said: A meeting with my friends. But according to you, this is not a valid reason. No, it is not. Why not? This is not an emergency situation. So I asked: In general, are there instructions? Yes, please, there are instructions; they are known as 0-200. So they have this little book, and everything is described in it. So I asked: Why, then, why is it a secret? Well, that is how it is! Anyway, the situation was not very clear.

Now, a second case with which I decided to investigate human rights. I went to Moscow Customs at Sheremetyevo [Airport] and said: May I see what is allowed and what is not? You may. I was given the regulations. Well, I am not too interested in diamonds, so I wanted to see the ideological side of things, so to speak. So, you are not allowed to bring in various books, and so forth, that undermine our social system. Everything here was in order: racism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, Zionism, pornography. Everything was understandable. Very well, now who determines that this, for instance, undermines our social system? Well, I was kindly told that there is a recently established special department for the control of printed and audio-visual products; that is its name. All right, may I visit this department and have a few words there? No, you cannot go there! I asked: Why not? Well, you are not allowed to, that is all.

The next morning I arrived there and headed straight for this department. I was met by Viktor Alekseyevich Uzhva, the department's chief. After I had introduced myself, he said: Comrade Bovin, I can speak to you only in the presence of the customs chief. Very well. I went up to the seventh floor to the customs chief. Well, it is like this: I would like to see these lists of what can and cannot be done. You know, this is my first day in this position,

he said, and he left for about 20 minutes of consultations. Then he invited Viktor Alekseyevich Uzhva up again. He told me: We do not have any lists. Well, I was told that there were. No, it seems that there has been some misunderstanding; there is no list. Well, I said, dear comrades, I will be appearing on television. Can I officially tell all of our television viewers that you do not have these lists covering literature and films, as I was told by a junior official? Well, we can officially say, responded the customs chief and department chief, that we do [as heard] have these lists. On this note, I departed.

But, after this, I simply telephoned several respected people who explained things to me. You know, it is not a list, but, yes, there is an enumeration. Well, I would like to end this entire discussion. This is a delicate and complex thing; I understand all that. All this will now undoubtedly be reconsidered. But there is something else here that bothers me, the question of secrecy. Why a Soviet man.... Well, let us assume that there is a list—I see nothing terrible in this—there is a list of forbidden things. It should be published in the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, so that everyone would know what is allowed and what is not. Why are all these things secret, all these instructions? It is not for you, it is for us! But, their internal matter is, begging your pardon, my external rights. And this is what I have actively opposed and I will continue to oppose this.

[Goldanskiy, interrupting] In connection with the fact that Aleksandr Yevgenyevich mentioned certain terms such as voyage and tour, I would like to intervene here a little, about some outdated cliches. We have a cliche like a padlocked border. We have become accustomed to this in the sense that in terms of entry our border is padlocked. Now, however, borders have, in reality, become tri-dimensional, altitude has become a consideration. And we know that there are thousands of satellites from all over the world flying over every country and this border, in any case, does not prevent observation, while the very concept of a padlocked border has, unfortunately, come to be perceived primarily as a border padlocked to exit or, in other words, to establish restrictions which still exist in our country and which sometimes are senseless. But, thank God, their number is becoming increasingly smaller, and this is another large sphere of activity for our future deputies.

[Arbatov] In connection with the fact that Aleksandr Yevgenyevich touched upon the question of a law-abiding state, I would like to discuss a problem which is close to my heart. I happened to deal with—I received personal letters asking me to defend the honor and dignity of some people. You see, the administrative-command system was not established only by means of administrative measures, but by means of legal repression as well. People with initiative and enterprise—in the better sense of the word—and who by their action presented, so to speak, a challenge to the bureaucratic system—were simply suppressed, and by legal means destroyed as activists. This phenomenon has become widespread. I mean a great number of specific people, such plant directors as Chabanov from Cherkassy, Chabanenko form Gorkiy, and such kolkhoz chairmen as Khudenko—much has been written about him, but he has not been rehabilitated so far—the Starodubtsev brothers, Belokon from Odessa Oblast, and very many others. There is not a single really worthy kolkhoz chairman nor a plant director who would not have this sword of Damocles hanging over his head. In this connection—I have already proposed this in the press, and I wish to propose this again—we need a commission for rehabilitation of these victims of the administrative-economic system. This is not only of moral significance, but is also of great economic significance, because with these methods people were taught to work without initiative, mindlessly. And while they are afraid this will not be possible....

[Bovin, interrupting] Now is just the time to adopt laws which would allow them to work in a quiet atmosphere and do exactly the things which they were doing then illegally in order to strengthen the economy.

[Arbatov, interrupting] This is certainly so. This is the establishment of legal guarantees. But those who suffered, they should be rehabilitated. Generally speaking, certain events occurred in our country. Now, in connection with the establishment of the law-abiding state and in relation to glasnost as well—there are certain shortcomings and certain emotions expressed, this happens due to excesses of glasnost. Or, for example, why is crime on the rise? There is too much liberalism in the struggle against crime. You see, it would be like saying that crime can only be fought by criminal means. This is due partly to imperfections of the laws, and due partly to certain traditions of our general legal system.

[Zorin, interrupting] I would like to direct our discussion back to some theses which you declared to be the goals you set for your work in case you become deputies. Vitaliy Iosifovich, I would like to ask you a question. You opposed parity, that is equality of armed forces. To speak frankly, this idea is unusual to many in our society, because we had another custom, that of securing, preferably, superiority, or, failing that, at least equality with the other side. You are saying that you consider this situation and this concept to be mistaken. Please explain what you mean.

[Goldenov] Of course. I think that we are in real need of securing a reliable and sensible defense capability. This is just the necessary element of the defense doctrine we now see as the basic one. However, if one speaks about parity in military expenditures, one should, first of all, remember that the proportion of gross national income of NATO countries to Warsaw Pact countries is four to one. This means that if we spend for defense as much as they do—look how much we immediately lose in expenditures for our national economy, even if we forget about all other problems. If we take our annual budgetary

expenses, and theirs—let us use dollars and the official rate of exchange and let us assume a parity in military expenditures. Let us, for example, take the figure of $320 billion, this is the sum allocated by the United States for their expenditures. Then, for all other expenditures, they will annually have a remainder of $650 billion, and we will have $500 billion. I am leaving aside the question of conversion of dollars into rubles and taking the official exchange rate. Thus, we immediately lose annually almost one-third of what we could spend for our economy. Now look, what will be the deficiency accumulated over many years, instead of catching up.

[Zorin] I see the economic side of this. What about the problem of security?

[Arbatov] You see, first of all, in my opinion, not everyone understands parity as numerical equality. For example, I think that we should not fight over words, that parity is the equality of opportunities, and when we speak about—after all, there are different geographical, political situations and so forth—this does not necessarily envisage a numerical equality.

[Bovin] What does danger mean? Explain this to me, a mere journalist: What does danger mean? Do we expect someone to attack us? What is the definition of this danger? Do we think that Americans or Japanese will attack us? What is the concept of danger?

[Arbatov] I think that there were moments when we were wary of direct aggression....

[Bovin, interrupting] There were.

[Arbatov continues] ...And others were wary of our aggression. There are other situations which cannot be merely ignored, whereby some unplanned conflict....

[Goldanskiy interrupts] The problem of escalation....

[Arbatov, interrupting] ...Yes, may escalate and may transform into something else, and, in this case, a sensible minimum of armed forces which would discourage adventures is, apparently, still necessary in the present situation.

[Zorin] I shall take the liberty to interfere in your argument and, very shortly, put forward my consideration. I think that one should not rush from one extreme to another. If these mutual suspicions and the exaggeration of danger, a real and closely threatening danger, were the undoubted extremes, one should not now accept the position that there is no such danger at all. Because if you accept such a position I shall ask you: Then, for what is the sensible capability? Then let us reject not only parity, but the sensible capability as well—there is no danger! Therefore, Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, in my view, one need....

[Bovin, interrupting] I am not saying that there is no danger—I am asking where it lies.

[Zorin] I think that, while asking, you perfectly well know the answer, because of your profession and your qualifications. This is why I am merely allowing myself to express my view: Let us straighten out the exaggerations which have cost us dearly and which still cost a lot, and let us not rush into the other extreme. I think that the principle of sensible capability is the real answer to the actual situation.

[Arbatov] I would like to make another comment. I think that we are now living through a very important and interesting time, when the new political thinking is already approaching the solution of a very important task. Previously, and it may have been objectively necessary at various times, we had to accept the rules of the game forced on us by the Americans and by others, and play according to their rules. Of course, we have stayed too long at that stage. But now we are acquiring independence. We have found and have begun to actively use the opportunity to act independently—without following their rules of the game. You see, following are the first asymmetrical answers: Our reaction to the Strategic Defense Initiative and now—the unilateral reduction in troops and conventional arms in Europe.

I do not see these as separate steps. I see that we have begun to act creatively in politics rather than simply reacting to some American actions. On the basis of common sense, an understanding of what is taking place, the new realities in the world, and the realities of mutual interdependence, we have begun to put forward our own rules to the game. I think that in this area we will find a great number of like-minded people.

[Bovin] I am very glad that we have lived to see the day when intellectual and political impulses have begun to flow from Moscow and reach the people. We have—perhaps this is a bit farfetched—become the intellectual center of the political world.

[Arbatov, interrupting] This confirms that the correct path has been chosen, that we are following the right course.

[Zorin] I feel that time is running out here at Ostankino, and I have not asked you to clarify some of the statements which you made earlier in the program. I ask you now to provide greater precision in your answers. In particular, Vitaliy Iosifovich, you mentioned the problem of conversion, the problem of changing the defense industry over to a non-war footing, to the manufacturing of a peacetime product.

Now, when our press talks about conversion, for some reason it talks most of all about how this problem affects them [the Americans]. They have a military-industrial complex that resists it, and it really is a problem for them. But I think that this is also a problem for us. For

example, I do not like it when some of our journalistic colleagues simply put this process down to some aviation plant or other which begins the production of coffee grinders or baby carriages. The problem is broader and deeper....

[Bovin, interrupting] As a matter of fact, it is not the journalists who boil it all down to this; it is the ministers who reduce conversion to this. Not journalists. I would like to clarify this point.

[Zorin] If this is the case, then it is worse still. I will ask you, Vitaliy Iosifovich, to briefly speak on this.

[Goldanskiy] At first glance, it would appear that our planned economy would supposedly make it easier to plan for military enterprises to change to the manufacture of non-military products. However, in reality, we have many specific difficulties which complicate this matter and sometimes, when compared to the West, we often find ourselves in more difficult situations. Specifically, in the West there are very few enterprises that manufacture purely defense products. As a rule, parallel to defense products, they also manufacture non-military items. Furthermore, say in America....

[Arbatov, interrupting] Forty percent of the products manufactured by our defense industry are also non-military items.

[Goldanskiy] Yes, but the important thing is that inventions, new inventions, in the areas of defense in the United States are automatically, after 1 year—unless there is a special request from the Pentagon—they can be used by the appropriate firms, that is, by the patentees, for peaceful uses. In other words, they do not have that administrative barrier which we so frequently encounter. The barriers between defense and the non-military industry must be much more penetrable. The borders separating the two industries must be much more transparent. I wish to stress this again: This falls within the competency of our deputies. That is why it is very important that our military and economic commissions consider this question in some detail.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, would you like to add something to this?

[Arbatov] Yes. I had something to do with these questions. I think that both the Americans and we ourselves are facing these difficulties. I agree that the planned nature of the economy does not provide answers to all questions. The defense industry, the production of weapons, is the most cost intensive industry there is. Money is of no consequence here. This is very serious business. We have raised this question officially at the highest level. But, candidly, I cannot see that work on this has begun. We even have a planned joint project—that is between Soviet and American scientists—to work out ways and approaches to this conversion. We have planned to exchange experiences in this field, and so forth. I have to say that the Americans have approached a number of factories and told them that a plan is needed. Will 6 months be enough? No, they are told in reply; we need 2 years. American industry requires 2 years to come up with a plan to begin the more or less serious manufacture of another product. Just like we have mobilization plans—or rather, used to have them—when, in the event of war an enterprise, say one that has been manufacturing light footwear, will begin making boots, while an enterprise manufacturing pots and pans will begin to make grenades, there must also be a demobilization plan.

[Arbatov] Comrades, there is one more question remaining pertaining to the matter of demobilized officers. This question also requires some time for preparation. I gave an interview to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the eve of the new year and I was shown letters from officers who were very concerned. Really, they have no other skills and something has to be done about this. We have to think and plan for this. With funds made available it is possible to increase pensions, to lower, for this instance alone, the retirement age. But this is not enough. There is the question of retraining, creating alternatives for them, providing them with apartments.

[Bovin] This has to be discussed. This must not be decided in narrow official circles. All this must be discussed and a public opinion, an atmosphere of some sort, must be formed. For this to happen the press must be widely involved. Television should discuss this problem....

[Arbatov, interrupting] Correct. And finally, what do you think will happen to these funds? If they were to be spent on the newest and latest ne plus ultra.... You were saying that one must not live beyond one's means. But this does not apply to the military alone. Unfortunately, the situation in the national economy is such that sometimes I think that we can cut huge amounts, but unless we fundamentally change the system, these funds will go to the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources or something else to finance new projects and in the end things could become even worse.

[Zorin] Valentin Iosifovich, please.

[Goldanskiy] I wish to add that last year, following a symposium on banning nuclear tests in Nevada, we have specifically discussed with the Americans, the question of conversion in the sciences. We spoke about what applications can be found for laboratory workers employed at Livermore, Los Alamos, and Sandia who work on creating nuclear weapons. A whole series of interesting ideas were put forward on how these people can be used. Another point is very important to us: In conversion I feel, at long last, the acute differences in the quality of products may be broken. [Bovin attempts to interrupt] Civilian products will improve when the military industry is responsible for their manufacture.

[Zorin] I am very glad that you speak so passionately about this. It appears that the new council and deputies will tackle this matter seriously. Now I would like to return you, Georgiy Arkadyevich, to what I think is a also very important situation which you mentioned earlier. I am speaking about the use of foreign contacts and world experiences in the interest of our economy. You spoke of this as one of the tasks you have set for yourself.

[Arbatov] Yes. You see, our history developed in a such a way that for a long time we were forced to develop by relying on our own forces. We were isolated and separated from the rest of the world. This contributed to the development of a certain psychology, habits, and practices and now, when we have realized that we live in an interdependent world, that no country can stand outside the world economic, scientific, and technical communities and other contacts, we must strive for a certain psychological breakthrough. Quite recently there was an article by Chekalin in PRAVDA, with a rather offensive, I would say, title, "Looking Into a Crystal Ball," directed against our economists. According to him it appears that it is wrong for us to fall into debt to the capitalists, which the economists call on us to do when they speak of the need to develop these ties. He is against the purchase of consumer goods, equipment, and generally against everything in the world. I think that this is a very dangerous situation. Presently, foreign ties can and must have a very important role. First and foremost in order to solve the bottlenecks. The matter of consumer goods is not as simple as it is made out. Such critics as the comrade I have already named avoid mentioning the fact that we are importing more than $15 billion worth of produce per annum and questions are asked concerning this. It is no secret that the ruble has lost its attraction. Past a certain level people are no longer always prepared to work just to receive rubles that are not backed by goods. For each metric ton of grain we pay the Americans $162; if my memory serves me well this is the last price I saw. Some of our economists and columnists posed the question: What if say $50 worth of goods is given to the kolkhoz or farmer for every metric ton produced above the average harvest for the past 4 or 5 years? The state would be $100 ahead. Can we do this? Certainly we can.

[Bovin] Where will he spend these dollars?

[Arbatov] Well, it will be according to catalogues. He must receive goods that are also needed for the development of production, say, and for his needs and requirements. But this is just one of the projects: It is not all that easy. Other things are even more important, such as new forms of cooperation, joint enterprises. After all, with scientific and technical progress, we are now often reminded that we have many scientific developments and discoveries that are coming into production frightfully slowly or simply left on the shelf. I honestly do not think that we can begin solving this problem without actively using ideas on the level of joint enterprises. Then there is competition. You know that we can invent any mark of quality. However, until we enter the world market this does not mean that goods are competitive. And this we must ensure.

The Americans, for example, with their high level of complacency, were nevertheless forced by competition to radically restructure their automobile, steel, and many other branches of industry. If we do not begin competing properly in the world market, then there will be no movement as far as our quality and scientific technical progress are concerned.

[Goldanskiy] I am glad that Georgiy Arkadyevich mentioned the article: "Looking Into the Crystal Ball." I would like to cite another recent example of what I would call a nihilist and insulting statement on matters of science in IZVESTIYA, entitled: "Science and the Measure of Truth." It was an interview with Kozakov, chief of a Gosplan department....

[Arbatov, interrupts] The chief specialist.

[Goldanskiy] ...The chief specialist, who painted a completely distorted picture—I would say—about expenditures for science here and abroad. He essentially laid the blame on the poor use of expenditures when in fact they are insufficient.

[Bovin] So, as they say, to each his own. But if you will excuse me, as a journalist I would like to mention yet another topic. You have spoken from the scientific point of view, but for we journalists, restructuring and foreign policy are seen as the problem of pluralism. In other words, I can say something, or I cannot say something if it is not the official point of view. Let us say I try to say something, and comrades immediately head for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to complain about me—that Bovin has said something that does not correspond with their ideas.

Well, previously in such cases we were immediately called on the carpet. Now, fortunately, it is not like that, but nevertheless sometimes there is still this nuance that you have done something wrong. I would like our comrades from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Central Committee to pursue this line more consistently, if you will, aimed at defending us—let us put it that way—from instances when attempts are made to hinder our work by citing various special relations.

[Arbatov] I would like to say only one thing. I generally favor the idea of journalists writing on a broad range of issues—writing the truth, yes. But I think that journalists, as well as scientists, cannot divest themselves of responsibility and think that they are above criticism. All of this does occur, but there is tact. An international affairs journalist must possess a serious sense of political tact, understand politics overall, and adhere to....

[Bovin, interrupts] That is what we are being taught all the time. That is right.

[Arbatov] ...An elementary medical truth: Do not cause injury.

[Bovin] To whom?

[Arbatov] Do not cause injury.

[Bovin] To whom?

[Arbatov] Do not injure the cause for which you are struggling. You are struggling for the cause yourself....

[Zorin, interrupts] I am very glad that a pluralism of views has been exhibited here at this table today. It remains for me to express the hope that if you are elected by the voters, our new supreme organ will rid itself of unanimous voting on every issue, of which we have been sick and tired for years. Now, this conversation is a kind of guarantee of this.

I would like to ask another question. Aleksandr Yevgenyevich, are there any aspects and concepts in our policy that in your opinion demand changes and improvements?

[Bovin] Well, I would say there are none, as such, because if we look at the general direction, it is largely correct: changing to positions of realism, common sense, evaluation of the situation—all these things. I would like to put forward an idea. It would be desirable to see a slightly more moral approach to political questions. I shall illustrate the thought: Khomeyni made a speech and passed a death sentence on the author who wrote a book that he did not like. The world protests this, and it is doing the right thing. But we keep silent. I understand our officially being silent because Iran is our neighbor—I understand these things, but this is the same problem we have been discussing: Should we not state our position, despite our relations with Iran? We should clearly formulate not only our political, but also our moral position on this truly monstrous matter. What is going on? This is the end of the 20th century! Instead, we keep silent. There are other, similar situations, though not this acute.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich?

[Arbatov] I think that the model of the disarmament talks is inadequate to the questions it has to solve. It was taken from commercial practice, and what does this entail? At first you make maximum demands. This is followed by a prolonged bargaining session and mutual concessions, and finally, the sides arrive at an agreement that is somewhere in between, close to the middle. I feel that it was inevitable that we began with this model, but it no longer works, at least not properly. There are reasons for this. First, you must understand that a long bargaining period invariably wastes time: We have already reached a situation when the military technology leaves us—that is the diplomatic process—far behind. Thus, we are doomed to discuss the questions of yesterday and day before yesterday at the talks.

Second, we are not trading with cups, cloth, and vegetables, but with questions pertaining to national security—patriotism. After this first maximum demand, which we try to substantiate as absolutely vital for our security, it becomes very difficult to retreat from this position later. We have seen this on numerous occasions.

Third, this negotiation style creates its own bureaucracy....

[Bovin, interrupts] Of negotiators.

[Arbatov] Yes, of negotiators—which become distanced from the real goal and develops according to Parkinson's Law. In my opinion, they tend to speak more among themselves than even with their governments, and they live in a sort of make-believe world. There is another model, which has been partially tested: A specific agreement is reached at the highest possible level—or the ministers of foreign affairs level—where specific questions are discussed and directives then issued to the negotiators. The negotiators then meet, work out the agreement and sign it, and then go their own ways. Talks are not held without first agreeing at the highest level. It should not be a permanent institution. I think that this is very important.

You have touched on terrorism. Here, I think the situation is begging to be corrected. Recently consultations were again held on terrorism in the air. I feel that on the matter of plane hijacking, existing agreements should be augmented with one more provision: The country where these hijackers have landed must be obliged to return them to the country where they committed the crime. Should this obligation be broken sanctions should be implemented that result in the total suspension of all air links. Today, no country can afford this. If this was implemented, the whole thing would end automatically. When the Cubans signed such an agreement with America, hijackings to Cuba came to an end. Before that it was a daily occurence.

[Zorin] Well, our time on the air has come to an end. We certainly cannot touch on every problem in a single broadcast. We will hope that our new supreme legislative organ, which the Soviet people still have to elect, will do all that it can to ensure that Soviet foreign policy is completely effective and brings maximum benefit to the people—and also that it facilitates the cause of peace.

This is where we have to end our talk today. It remains for me to thank our participants and television viewers. And so, until we meet in Studio 9.

World Media Comment on Gorbachev's Kiev Speech
PM2602191189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under rubric "Abroad": "For the Renewal of Socialist Society"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] 25 Feb—The speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at his meeting with working people in Kiev is the focus of attention of foreign political and public figures and the foreign mass media. It is being pointed out that the Soviet Union is in the process of far-reaching changes initiated by the restructuring policy and that the country already differs for the better from what it was in the recent past. It is being stressed that the main results of the international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Government are that the threat of war has been reduced, the Soviet Union's security is now stronger, and there has been a real increase in the prestige of Soviet policy within the community of states and among the public.

Budapest: Under headlines such as "Mikhail Gorbachev's Kiev Analysis," "People Waiting for Results from Restructuring," and "Moscow Restructuring Its Ties With Socialist Countries," all the Hungarian newspapers have published detailed accounts of M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Kiev. They have highlighted the sections concerned with the characteristics of the present stage in the restructuring process, the solution of the country's vital problems, political reform in the Soviet Union, and international issues.

Warsaw: The Polish RZECZPOSPOLITA has noted the Soviet leader's words concerning mutual ties in the lives of the Soviet republics. ZYCIE WARSZAWY stressed that a distinctive feature of the meetings M.S. Gorbachev had in the Ukraine was their frank, constructive, businesslike nature.

Prague: The Czechoslovak RUDE PRAVO has published the full text of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at his meeting with working people in the city of Kiev. Headlines in other CSSR newspapers that carried the speech ran as follows: "For the Renewal of Socialist Society," "Boldly Shake Off Old and Outmoded Forms of Socialism," and "The Individual Is the Main Aim of Restructuring."

Beijing: The Soviet Union, the Chinese RENMIN RIBAO stressed, has now reached one of the most crucial phases in restructuring, when it is moving from the realm of intentions, plans, and programs into real practice and is being embodied in new forms of socioeconomic and political organization. The newspaper pointed out that success in the task of restructuring will require enormous social energy, capable of overcoming the force of inertia and the resistance of the old ways and leading society onto a path of dynamic development.

Rome: In Kiev, the Italian L'UNITA wrote, the Soviet leader made an important speech designed to support restructuring, which is the only path to follow. But this speech was also addressed to the outside world. Restructuring has affected the entire world situation. The threat of war has diminished and the prestige of Soviet policy has grown considerably.

"M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Kiev is confirmation of the Soviet Union's policy of furthering detente and disarmament. It attests to the Soviet Union's intention to develop all-round relations with other countries and peoples for the sake of strengthening peace throughout the world," Umberto Damascelli, general secretary of the Italian "East-West" Center, said.

Paris: The Soviet Union is entering a new stage of political reform—the stage of harmonizing interethnic relations, the French L'HUMANITE wrote. These relations have not been given sufficient attention for a long time. A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee will be devoted to discussing them. National revival has become an inalienable part of restructuring. For the first time in recent decades—even for the first time in history—the newspaper went on to note, the security of the USSR is being strengthened not by an increase in its military might but, on the contrary, thanks to the process of disarmament that has now begun.

The seriousness of the everyday problems encountered by Soviet citizens, the Paris newspaper LE MONDE wrote, makes the implementation of reforms in the Soviet Union a vital necessity.

Tokyo: Working on the basis of the principles of new thinking, the Japanese KYODO agency wrote, the Soviet Union intends to restructure its relations with socialist countries in a practical way. The Soviet leader has called for rectification of the deformations and mistakes connected with the former period in the history of socialism, thereby confirming that every state has the sovereign right to solve its own problems.

United States & Canada

Bush Visits Japan To Attend Hirohito Funeral

To Meet Takeshita; Ties Viewed

LD2402051489 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 23 TASS—American President George Bush arrived in the Japanese capital on Thursday. He will meet Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita and attend Friday's funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

According to the KYODO TSUSHIN News Agency, George Bush and Noboru Takeshita will discuss the two countries' relations and international problems, primarily the situation in Asia, and exchange their thoughts on the forthcoming meeting of leaders of the seven largest capitalist countries which will be held in France this July. East-West relations, the situation in Indochina and on the Korean peninsula will also be discussed.

One factor affecting American-Japanese relations at the moment is the American intention to reevaluate the joint U.S.-Japanese development of a new fighter-plane for the Japanese Air Force. The decision to take a fresh look at the issue was forced on the U.S. Administration by the U.S. Congress which opposed giving Japan advanced technology because this may damage the competitiveness of American firms. The problem is expected to be discussed either between Bush and Takeshita or between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III who is accompanying the President on his tour and Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno. The U.S. President is also intending to meet heads of more than 50 states who will be attending the funeral.

To Discuss U.S.-Japan Trade

OW2402003389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1310 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] Today U.S. President George Bush arrived in the Japanese capital. The head of the U.S. Administration will meet Prime Minister Takeshita and on Friday he will take part in the ceremony for Emperor Hirohito's official funeral. During their talks, George Bush and Noboru Takeshita will discuss the situation in Asia and exchange views on the current conference between leaders of the seven largest capitalist countries to be held in France next July.

The U.S. President also plans to meet many of more than 50 heads of state and governments attending the funeral. His meeting with French President Mitterrand also took place today.

It has been noted in the United States that it is highly unusual for a President to depart on a tour of foreign countries only 33 days after his inauguration. Before his departure for Tokyo, Bush did not conceal that one purpose of the trip is to improve the mutual understanding with Tokyo on a number of global problems, primarily those of world trade relations.

Japan is the main rival of U.S. companies in this sphere. Japan not only pushes them away from traditional commodities markets, it invades the U.S. domestic market as well.

After Japan, President Bush will visit China, where he—according to his own words—hopes to strengthen the current friendly, stable, and solid relations. These relations are fundamentally important for any formula for U.S. foreign relations.

Speaking about his visit to South Korea, Bush noted that he would meet with leaders of a country that is rapidly catching up with the economically highly-developed countries. The Bush tour will continue until 27 February.

Meets Mitterrand; USSR Ties Viewed

LD2402045089 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 24 TASS—By TASS correspondents Vladimir Kuchko and Vladimir Solntsev: The Soviet Union's perestroyka creates new opportunities and a new challenge for the West. This opinion was expressed jointly by U.S. President George Bush and President Francois Mitterrand of France during a meeting here on Thursday [23 February]. They both had come to Tokyo to attend Emperor Hirohito's funeral ceremony due to take place on Friday.

White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said at a briefing in the Japanese capital that during the discussion of the East-West relations the leaders of the two countries exchanged views on the perestroyka progress and relations with the Soviet Union. They agreed that the Western alliance is solid, NATO's positions are strong and the West is ready to approach changes in the Soviet Union in a very positive manner. The White House spokesman pointed out that Bush had expressed high appreciation of Mitterrand's support for the INF Treaty and hope that the French president would again display it since the West was certain to come across some new opportunities as a result of changes in East-West relations.

Fitzwater said that after the coming to office of the new administration the U.S. had started the reassessment of its foreign policy, including, of course, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and other arms control talks. According to the White House spokesman, Bush and Mitterrand had discussed in general terms the modernization of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

The U.S. and French leaders devoted much attention to the situation in the Middle East. According to KYODO TSUSHIN, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker welcomed the Soviet Union's intention to contribute to the ensurance of peace in the Middle East. Baker said that he planned to meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Vienna next March and to discuss with him problems connected with the Middle East settlement.

Bush also met with Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita on Thursday. According to a Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman, during the discussion of East-West relations the U.S. President said that his administration was analysing the U.S. stand at the arms control talks with the USSR and assured that no matter what decision would be taken, it would not be detrimental to Asia. During the discussion of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region Takeshita said that Washington and Tokyo, together with ASEAN member states, should play a more active part in the settlement of the Kampuchean problem. According to the White House spokesman, Bush, in his turn, spoke in favour of Prince Sihanouk being included in the future Kampuchean government and opposed the return to power of Pol Pot supporters.

Bush Plans To Urge Increased U.S.-PRC Ties

OW2402015289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Viktor Gryaznov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, U.S. President George Herbert Walker Bush has begun his Far East trip. It is estimated that he will spend a total of more than 36 hours in flight during his visit to Japan, China, and South Korea. The incumbent U.S. President may be already accustomed to such long flights. During World War II, as a pilot, Bush took part in aerial combat in the Pacific Ocean and was shot down by the Japanese in 1944. This incident, however, did not affect Bush's attitude toward Japan, with which the United States maintains good relations.

Bush will attend the late Japanese Emperor Hirohito's funeral tomorrow. He will also hold talks with about 20 heads of state attending the funeral. Bush will then go on to Beijing on 25 February for a visit. Now, let us have our station's commentator Viktor Gryaznov talk about Bush's China trip:

In Beijing, Bush [words indistinct]. During his stay in China, he will meet with Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Yang Shangkun, and Li Peng.

Dear listeners, you all know that, during 1974-1975, when the United States had not yet established diplomatic relations with China, Bush was chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing. After he became U.S. vice president, Bush twice visited China, in 1982 and 1985. During his talks in Beijing, Bush will assure Chinese leaders that the United States wants to maintain friendly relations and promote bilateral trade and economic ties. Bush will also discuss international issues, such as the Southeast Asian and Afghan situations after the Soviet troop withdrawal.

China will brief the Americans on the upcoming meeting in May between Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Deng Xiaoping, and other Chinese leaders, and the development of Sino-Soviet relations.

Chinese leaders indicated that the Taiwan issue is a major obstacle in Sino-American relations. Will the issue be brought up during Bush's stay in China? As I understand it, at the end of last year, Fei Xiaotong, noted Chinese sociologist and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, urged Bush, via the media, to contribute to the return of Taiwan to the motherland. Not long ago, a spokesman of the U.S. State Department issued a statement indicating that the issue would be discussed. The spokesman, in expounding the U.S. Government's position on the Taiwan issue, said that Washington, as usual, believes that the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits should be the only ones to resolve the matter.

What role will Bush play on this issue? I think it would be better to talk about it after Bush's China trip.

Bush in ROK; Talks to Focus on Trade, Security

LD2702091489 Moscow TASS in English 0748 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pyongyang February 27 TASS—by TASS correspondent Aleksandr Zhebin:

President George Bush arrived in Seoul on Monday for a brief six-hour stay in South Korea.

The President is set to have talks with his South Korean counterpart No Tae-u, meet leaders of the opposition and speak before the National Assembly, according to the Korean TV network KBS. Bush will also visit U.S. Armed Forces Headquarters in South Korea.

The U.S.-South Korean talks will focus on bilateral relations, "security issues", trade differences and South Korean relations with socialist countries.

Security forces have been put on high alert and the U.S. Embassy and other U.S. offices in South Korea are under close guard.

'Pause' in U.S. Foreign Policy 'Intolerable'

PM2402175989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the rubric "Abroad": "Overlong Pause"]

[Text] Washington, 24 Feb—Thanks to Godfrey Sperling, one of the masters of American journalism, this fact from the Washington political annals has become almost legendary. After last year's presidential elections, one journalist here asked a quite high-ranking official how long, in his opinion, G. Bush's so-called "honeymoon" with Congress and the country as a whole would last. The official looked at his watch and replied: "It's already over...."

There is a grain of truth in every joke. There was unquestionably a grain of truth in this one. Although obviously it is still rather early to assess the start made by the new cabinet. Especially as, in line with local tradition, the new President is given 100 days free of criticism.

So I, too, do not wish to be categorical. But it still seems as if Bush's "honeymoon" is coming to an end sooner than expected. True, until recently the 41st President and his team enjoyed a most favorable attitude in every corner of the country. But then the first "warning bell" sounded. It sounded after the President's speech to a joint session of Senate and the House of Representatives on 9 February. It was then that the American people, to their disappointment, heard nothing that really made sense from the new head of state apart from general words.

Bush's trip to Japan, China, and South Korea has provided fresh material for discussions about how the new administration has been unable in the past month to either put together its foreign policy team or offer the country and the rest of the world any clear, logically consistent strategy of action in the international arena. People are saying, in particular, that, like Secretary of State Baker, who recently completed a trip to the NATO countries, the President is essentially making a one-man debut in foreign policy.

A fact is a fact: To everyone's surprise, the transitional period in Washington has clearly gone on too long [yavno zatyanulsya]. This is becoming particularly obvious against the background of the Soviet Union's active, dynamic, innovative foreign policy. THE NEW YORK TIMES cannot be accused of being unfair when it wrote: "Bush's inability to plot a strategy so far in response to the Soviet diplomatic initiatives has forced many to raise their eyebrows in disbelief."

On the eve of Bush's trip to Asia, B. Scowcroft, his adviser on national security issues, tried to rebut the growing criticism directed at the administration. He claimed that the President is not trying to "make the headlines" but is putting together a team which "will be forward-looking and will try to develop the kind of actions that will help us to be where we want to be at the end of this century." Actually, on the very same day, Bush himself reacted extremely emotionally to journalists' suppositions that he simply has no foreign policy of his own, calling these suppositions "a disgraceful hypothesis."

At the same time, both the head of cabinet and Scowcroft have found nothing better to do than try to belittle the questing, assertive nature of Soviet diplomacy and, in particular, the essentially peacemaking trip to the Near East by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze. However, Scowcroft nevertheless found it impossible to deny the obvious and unwillingly admitted: "To a certain extent, it is indeed unfortunate that the President still lacks a team responsible for national security issues."

Until recently it was believed that the world should come to a standstill in expectation of the arrival of the new U.S. president. And this has very often been the case. Times have changed, however. Events are developing so rapidly that any pause in the actions of responsible political figures is simply intolerable. That is because the burden of vital problems affecting the interests of all peoples is too great.

'Inactivity' of U.S.' Soviet Policy Noted

LD2402174589 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] [First announcer] A vigorous foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union in many directions appears in sharp contrast with the relative inactivity of American diplomacy. Is there a perception that U.S. foreign policy is drifting?

[Second announcer] Before his departure for the Hirohito funeral President Bush had to defend himself this week when a journalist asked him at a press conference whether his administration had no foreign policy. I've never heard such an outrageous hypothesis, was the reply from Mr George Bush. That, however, did not explain away his order for a 5-month review of national security and diplomatic objectives, some observers noted. Specifically, he ordered U.S.-Soviet relations to be put on hold, which had been developing so successfully in recent years under his predecessor. As his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, explained this week, President Bush is not out to make instant headlines. The President is seeking to set a course that will last until the end of the century.

George Bush is said to be a cautious man who has been around long enough to know better than to rush headlong into foreign policy adventures. But while he is biding his time with U.S.-Soviet relations, he may well

lose the momentum in disarmament efforts pursued by the two countries under his predecessor, who was likewise a wary president.

U.S. Causes 'Regret'

LD2602021589 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Valentin Zorin commentary; read by announcer]

[Text] In one of my commentaries late last year I took the risk of predicting no special pause would occur in Soviet-American relations after the new American Administration took over state power. Now, however, I'm asking myself if that prediction wasn't too bold. I based my views at the time on what I'd heard in Washington from prominent American politicians and on considerations of my own. I knew the White House was opening its doors to a political figure who had played a major role in the Reagan administration and who had been directly involved in Soviet-American dialogue. The new state secretary, James Baker, couldn't be considered a novice in policymaking either, since he had been sufficiently close to the former president and had had a prominent office in his administration. No pause seemed to be pending in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

A different prediction could have been made with regard to a situation involving Michael Dukakis, had he won in the election race. He and his new team would obviously have had to ask for a time out. But when the newly elected President Bush began talking of a need for a delay to take a closer look at Soviet-American relations, that statement came to me as a surprise.

Meanwhile, a great deal of problems need resolving—and speedily. Indeed, underground nuclear testing is still under way. The prospects for solving problems that are vital to both nations have become more remote, and instead of agreeing to convert the two economies to peaceful uses, the Soviet Union and the United States continue financing miliary projects. Of course, Soviet diplomats lose no time and make no pauses in response to Washington's wish to think the situation over at length. The near future is to see a number of major summits in the course of Mikhail Gorbachev's announced trips to Cuba, Britain, China, West Germany, and France. The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, has spent the past week on a tour of a number of Middle East countries conducting important talks with local officials. Now that Soviet politicians are increasing their efforts to untie various international knots, the slowdown in Soviet-American dialogue cannot but cause regret. I believe this opinion will be shared by all those seeking to improve the international political climate.

U.S. Not Yet Recognizing Afghan Rebel Regime

PM2702102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Redman's Statement"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Feb—Speaking at a briefing Friday, U.S. State Department spokesman Redman reported that the United States has no intention as yet of recognizing the "mujahidin transitional government," although it fully approves of the creation of this government. As for establishing diplomatic relations with it, Redman continued, there are criteria such as control of territory, the functioning of a civilian administration, broad public support, and the ability to fulfill international obligations. The government's creation does not meet these conditions, and this has been explained to it. Thus it is quite obvious that the question of diplomatic recognition does not arise today.

Aganbegyan Meets With California Businessmen

LD2602095789 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] San Francisco February 25 TASS—by TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin

Californian businessmen displayed a great interest in a meeting with the prominent Soviet economist, Academician Abel Aganbegyan, which took place at the Meridian Hotel, downtown San Francisco.

Sponsors of the meeting from the Commonwealth Club, whose members come from many big industrial and financial corporations, told TASS that California businessmen regard with special interest the progress of economic restructuring in the USSR and the new chances it opens for setting up joint enterprises and for developing trade. The Soviet academician dwelt at length on these questions.

Prominent businessman Richard Otter, the former president of the Commonwealth Club, said that he was amazed not only at tangible successes of the economic restructuring in the USSR, in part a noticeable rise in efficiency of production and productivity growth, but also at frankness with which Soviet scholars and specialists who arrive in the U.S.A. speak of many unsettled problems and difficulties popping up in the course of truly ambitious economic changes in the Soviet Union. In his words, a frank exchange of opinions between Soviet and American economists and business experts is very important now for expanding mutual understanding and trust between the two countries. He pointed out that the growing interest in the U.S.A. in the development of mutually advantageous trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union was self-evident.

"The main impression from my present trip to the U.S.A., during which there were many meetings with representatives of business, academic and political quarters, is a noticeable warmth in their attitude to our country," Academician Aganbegyan told TASS. "These sentiments cannot but influence the position of the U.S. Congress where many legislators start to speak out for a repeal of the discriminatory Jackson-Vanik Amendment which prevents the development of Soviet-American trade, for granting the USSR the most favoured nation trade status, etc. In a word, noticeable positive changes are taking place."

China

Chaplin, Tian Zengpei Discuss Consular Ties

LD2502093589 Moscow TASS in English 0912 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 25 TASS—Boris Chaplin, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, on a brief working visit here, on Saturday met Tian Zengpei, deputy foreign minister of the People's Republic of China.

During the talk the ministers exchanged views on several issues of Soviet-Chinese consular relations and also conditions in which the Soviet Embassy in Beijing and Chinese Embassy in Moscow work.

PRC Journal Previews Sino-Soviet Summit

PM2602183789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "LIAOWANG Magazine on Soviet-Chinese Relations"]

[Text] Beijing, 24 Feb—The journal LIAOWANG has published an article devoted to questions of Soviet-Chinese relations under the headline "Major Event in International Politics."

The official announcement of the visit to China by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is a firm step along the road of developing bilateral relations. The bad old days are receding into the past. The prospect of normalizing relations, good-neighborliness, and friendship is on the horizon, the magazine writes.

PRC-USSR relations, LIAOWANG notes, have travelled a winding road—from alliance and friendship in the fifties and hostile confrontation in the sixties and seventies to the overlooking of old hurts and movement toward normalization in the eighties. What is the point of raking over the past? The best thing now is to look to the future.

Sino-Soviet relations, of course, cannot return to their previous state. China and the Soviet Union have repeatedly stated that it is necessary to make every effort to create a new type of relations based on nonalignment and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and to strive to protect world peace and promote the development and strengthening of cooperation.

The source of the new type of relations lies in the fact that both sides are sovereign states pursuing independent and autonomous foreign policies. Their aspiration is the establishment of a new international political and economic order. A great deal depends on both China and the Soviet Union in international development; they are responsible for the resolution of major world issues. Identical or similar viewpoints can and must be sought in easing regional conflicts, relaxing international tension, and even in the sphere of finding ways to resolve the numerous vital and complex problems facing the world and mankind. Based on their own views and judgments, both states can seek coordinated and agreed accommodations [sochetaniya].

The two countries, the journal writes, have very great potential and reserves for implementing cooperation and exchanges. China and the Soviet Union have a long border. Additionally, they are the largest neighboring socialist countries. Although there is a history of mutual antipathy, there is also traditional friendship. [Moscow TASS in English at 1523 GMT on 24 February carries a similar report on the LIAOWANG item in which the preceding sentence is rendered as follows: "Although certain sentiments of reciprocal antipathy still persist, there is also the tradition of friendship between them."] This factor promotes the borrowing from each other of everything positive in the economic and cultural spheres.

Both states are reforming their political and economic systems. Despite different historical backgrounds and current realities, certain components of the old systems which need to be eradicated do have features in common. That is why, in carrying out transformations, both countries can relate to each other's experience. The normalization of relations is capable of creating the favorable conditions needed for this.

Within the normalization process many issues must still be resolved. Differences of opinion are also inevitable in the subsequent development of the situation. It is important that these should not create obstacles to the normalization of relations and good-neighborliness, or hinder consultations and talks in accordance with international norms and with consideration for mutual interests in order to arrive at fair and sensible solutions.

Could the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations be damaging to a third party? There are different opinions about this worldwide. The overwhelming majority of observers, taking the overall situation into account, think not. The subsequent course of events will show that fears have been exaggerated.

Changes in Sino-Soviet relations are inevitable. That is how it should be. Nonetheless, the actual process can by no means be concluded at a single session.

There are less than 3 months to go to the summit. It will be a leap forward in the normalization of bilateral relations. We hope the summit and M.S. Gorbachev's visit will be successful, LIAOWANG writes.

USSR, PRC Hold Similar Views on Issues

OW2302050289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 19 Feb 89

[From the "World Today" program; (Otsotov) commentary]

[Text] Newspapers, periodicals, television, and radio stations of various countries in the Asia-Pacific region have commented on the outcome of the Soviet Foreign Minister's recent visit to China and have noted that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will exert an influence in the region. On this, our station observer (Otsotov) writes the following commentary:

The Soviet-Chinese talks in Beijing have once again proved that the Soviet Union and China share identical or similar stands on pressing international issues. Based on the major principles of their own foreign policy, both countries have striven to transform the international situation from one of confrontation and tension to that of dialogue and relaxation as quickly as possible. This is seen from the two countries' views and concrete actions on key issues in the Asia-Pacific region. The discussion in Beijing on Cambodia's internal and external situation shows the two countries' constructive attitude.

At a press conference given for Soviet and foreign journalists, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei stressed: The two sides called for a reasonable and fair political settlement of the Cambodian question as early as possible. They expressed identical or similar views on the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and other pressing issues pertaining to the settlement. It is undoubtedly of great significance that the Soviet Union and China have pledged to act as guarantor nations to ensure Cambodia will be an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned country.

In fact, the Soviet Union and China have also taken a common stand on a series of issues regarding security in the Asia-Pacific region. For example, concerning the establishment of nuclear-free zones, Moscow and Beijing have supported the proposal by members of ASEAN for a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union and China have declared their willingness to exert efforts to put the proposal into action. They have also supported the DPRK's proposal for making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone. Statements issued by the Soviet and Chinese Governments on these proposals have stressed that the establishment of nuclear-free zones will contribute significantly to strengthening peace and tranquillity in the Far East.

Judging from the aforesaid, concerning the strengthening of peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region, there is much understanding between the Soviet Union and China, which can become the sound foundation for their relations. Joint action can serve peace and will undoubtedly be very effective, taking into consideration the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union and China. It is the hope of the people and governments of countries in Asia that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will help strengthen the peace and stability of the region. MANILA BULLETIN said recently: We welcome the Gorbachev-Deng Xiaoping meeting scheduled for May this year. We strongly believe that the summit will promote the process of peace in this not-so-tranquil region.

U.S. Expected To Continue Two-China Policy

OW2302022989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] FREE CHINA JOURNAL, published in Taiwan, not long ago pointed out that there are all kinds of reasons to believe that Washington's new administration would not refuse to provide military assistance to Taipei. It held that such assistance will be continued. In this connection, station observer Alekseyev has the following comments:

We should know that, in making such a prediction, the journal in Taiwan first of all relied on historical experience. The experience shows us that since the start of the Taiwan issue 40 years ago, the policy of arming the Taiwan authorities has always been an inseparable part of the U.S. foreign policy in Asia. The policy has smoothly survived not only several changes of the head of the U.S. Government but also sharp changes in the U.S. policy toward China during the 1970's and even the period after 1979 when China and the United States established diplomatic relations. This clearly showed people that the Washington authorities attached great importance to relations with Taiwan. To maintain its relations with Taiwan, Washington not only disregarded all protests made by China but also directly violated its obligations written in a formal document. Following the signing of the Shanghai Communique in 1982, the United States assumed the obligation of gradually reducing and eventually stopping its military aid to Taiwan. Nevertheless, such military aid has been increasing every year. In addition to directly providing weapons to Taiwan from U.S. arsenals with an annual value reaching $700 million in 1988, the United States also directly helped Taiwan produce military equipment in Taiwan. The branches of U.S. military enterprises in Taiwan are

involved in producing such equipment. Therefore, military observers are convinced that the weapons obtained by Taiwan authorities from the United States at present are about 50 percent more than those received in the early 1980's.

What has caused the Washington authorities to stubbornly stick to a policy that has smeared the reputation of the United States in the eyes of the people of China and other Asian countries? The reason is that, up until now, the U.S. authorities have viewed Taiwan as one of their most important strategic positions in the Far East. This was precisely what the former Pentagon chief Weinberger once said: The free world's front line in the West Pacific passes through Taiwan. It seemed that Weinburger was not at all ashamed about the policy of having the U.S. strategic defense line pass through Chinese sovereign territory which had been recognized by the United States.

Does the new U.S. President want to give up this policy which in reality violates Chinese sovereignty? Disregarding what has been said by people in Taiwan, it is still too early to reach a conclusion. I can recall that in one of his campaign speeches, Bush said that he wanted to strengthen the Asian people's confidence in U.S. policy. If he really meant that, the United States should without doubt change its longstanding and notorious two-Chinas policy.

Northeast Asia

Reportage on Lukyanov Visit to Japan

Meets New Japanese Emperor

LD2502143289 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 25 TASS—Japanese Emperor Akihito on Saturday received heads of delegations of states, who had attended the funeral of Emperor Hirohito.

The emperor gave an audience to Soviet Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov, during which both sides pointed to the importance of developing Soviet-Japanese relations on the basis of the principles of goodneighbourliness, equality and mutual benefit.

Meets Politician Ikeda

PM2702101389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Meetings in Tokyo"]

[Text] Tokyo, 25 Feb—A.I. Lukyanov today met with D. Ikeda, honorary chairman of the Soka Gakkai Society and a prominent Japanese public figure and politician.

The chief subject of the talks, which were held in a constructive and amicable spirit, was the topicality for the present-day world of pooling the efforts of the peoples of all countries and continents in the struggle for values common to all mankind—general and complete nuclear disarmament—and for peace and the peoples' prosperity. In this context D. Ikeda made a high assessment of M.S. Gorbachev's 7 December 1988 UN speech.

Meets President of Cyprus

LD2602013789 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 25 TASS—Soviet First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov, who arrived in Japan to attend the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito, met Cyprus President Yeoryios Vasiliou on Saturday. [25 February]

During the friendly conversation, Lukyanov conveyed to Vassiliou greetings from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The sides exchanged views on the state and prospects for the development of Soviet-Cyprus relations in various fields.

They confirmed their mutual desire to further deepen ties and cooperation between the two countries.

It was pointed out that a just, comprehensive and reliable solution to the Cyprus problem meets the interests of all Cypriots, Greeks and Turks. Such a solution would help improve the situation in Cyprus and the Mediterranean.

The Soviet side wished success to the Cyprus talks held under the U.N. aegis. It repeated its proposal for convening an international conference to settle international aspects of this problem, and for discussing the Cyprus issue along with other regional problems.

The discussion of some topical international problems revealed the coincidence or closeness of the positions of the Soviet Union and Cyprus.

The sides pointed to the significance of the Non-Aligned Movement as an important factor in world politics.

On the same day, Lukyanov met prominent Japanese politician and public figure Daisaku Ikeda, honourary chairman of the Soka Gakkai Society.

During the meeting, held in a constructive and friendly spirit, the sides spoke about the need for all countries to pool efforts to defend human values and called for universal and complete nuclear disarmament, peace and prosperity of nations.

In this context, Ikeda spoke highly of Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the United Nations last December.

The Soviet Embassy in Japan hosted a meeting of the heads of delegations from socialist countries which had arrived in Tokyo to attend Hirohito's funeral. The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Returns to Moscow

PM2702101789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "USSR Delegation Leaves Tokyo"]

[Text] Tokyo, 26 Feb—A USSR delegation headed by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Tokyo today. It had been here to attend the official burial ceremony of Emperor Hirohito of Japan.

The delegation was seen off at Haneda Airport by H. Okonogi, Japanese minister of construction, and other officials. N.N. Solovyev, USSR ambassador to Japan, was among those seeing the delegation off.

On the same day the USSR delegation returned to Moscow. It was met at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

T. Muto, Japanese ambassador to the USSR, was among those welcoming the delegation.

Bush Reaffirms Military Commitment to ROK

LD2502100689 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 25 TASS—The United States does not intend to reduce the strength of its Armed Forces in South Korea. U.S. President George Bush told this in an interview with the South Korean News Agency YONHAP published on Saturday.

In the interview given two days before the visit to Seoul, Bush particularly stressed that American troops would stay in South Korea as long as it was needed by that country's government and people.

Bush argued that the United States has supported for a long time a North-South dialogue as a key means of settling the situation on the Korean Peninsula. However, in this issue he adopted the stance of the South Korean side. The American President spoke approvingly about the extension of ties between South Korea and socialist countries. He also said that since October 1988 the United States has been taking several measures to expand scientific, cultural and other non-governmental exchanges with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Bush reaffirmed Washington's demand that Seoul open its market wider to American goods.

ROK Defense Minister Supports U.S. Presence

PM1702131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Pentagon Building Up Presence"]

[Text] South Korean Defense Minister Yi Sang-hun has advocated the retention of U.S. Armed Forces in the south of the Korean peninsula. In a speech Wednesday [15 February] in Seoul, YONHAP reports, the minister stated that U.S. forces "will be needed" at least until the year 2000. He justified this approach by citing the "imbalance" which, according to him, currently exists in the correlation of armed forces between South Korea and the DPRK.

The minister also reported that the size of the U.S. contingent in South Korea will be increased by 600 servicemen this year, making a total of 43,800 officers and men.

According to the white paper on defense published in South Korea late last year, the South Korean Armed Forces number 650,000 men.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

2d Jakarta Informal Meeting on Cambodia Ends

'Consensus' Reached

PM2402135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Valerian Skvortsov dispatch under the "Correspondent Comments" rubric: "Strengthening Hope"]

[Text] Jakarta, 22 Feb—The participants in the second informal meeting of the sides interested in a settlement around Cambodia are leaving the Indonesian capital. The diplomatic baggage of the delegations of the PRK and the three emigre groupings, and the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos, and the six ASEAN countries contains a document called the statement of the chairman of the informal meeting on the consensus reached.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, speaking to journalists after the completion of the work in Jakarta, described his attitude to the document as follows: "Pessimistic sentiments prevailed before the opening of the talks. Now that we have overcome all the difficulties and have a statement on consensus issued by the chairman, it is clear that the meeting in Jakarta was a major success."

The first informal meeting at Bogor last July mainly outlined the general principles by which the participants agreed to be guided in their approach to a future settlement. It was a question of a chance to resolve a problem by exclusively political rather than military means, of an independent, sovereign, peaceful, and neutral future for nonaligned Cambodia, and of ensuring that the solution

took into account the interests of all the sides. This approach was subsequently enshrined in a series of bilateral talks and consultations. In the document on consensus read out by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who chaired the second meeting in Jakarta, these principles, which have won international approval and recognition, now become the common basis for all Cambodian sides to resolve their internal problems.

The document notes that a cease-fire will come into force immediately after the Cambodian sides themselves have secured an internal political settlement. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer units will follow immediately after this and will be completed no later than 30 September 1989. The Vietnamese delegation stated here that this may even happen earlier; everything depends on how the process of restoring national accord in Cambodia proceeds. At the same time, military aid to the emigre groupings is being halted. Specific measures must be envisaged to prevent the Pol Pot regime's policy and practice of genocide from returning to the country.

The sides reached consensus regarding the need to create an international monitoring mechanism whose tasks would be to observe the fulfillment of the accord on a cease-fire and an end to military aid, the withdrawal of the volunteer forces, and the holding of free democratic elections. It is proposed that an international conference on Cambodia be convened.

As we can see, enough was done at the second informal meeting to enable us to talk with confidence about the irreversibility of the process of reaching a settlement around Cambodia and achieving national reconciliation. However, the question of the form of the quadripartite transitional administration to implement national accord on the eve of the general election still needs to be resolved.

Receiving the participants in the second informal meeting in Jakarta, Indonesian President Suharto pointed out in conversation with them that all four Khmer sides have now, as it were, found themselves on a common path, although they are still moving along it separately. The sooner they overcome their differences in the interests of national accord, the sooner, he noted, they will reach their common goal and reach an agreement on the internal and external aspects of the 10-year regional conflict, the settlement of which will bring peace and stability to Southeast Asia as a whole.

Khmer Rouge Main Obstacle to Peace

OW2602044289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1310 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] The second informal, as it is called, meeting has ended in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. Leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, leaders of the Khmer opposition, and representatives of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea attended. I would like to draw your attention to the declaration made by the latter. They actually agreed to a reduction of military aid to all Cambodian armed forces, and recognized the present government of Cambodia as an element of the tetralateral coalition government. The leadership of this government is entrusted to Prince Sihanouk. They are prepared to disarm the Khmer Rouge army, and have finally agreed on the participation of Vietnam in the international mechanism of the UN observers, which is very important.

The process of reconciliation in Cambodia is gathering strength. This is happening despite the continuing breach of human rights by Pol Pot followers in the Cambodian refugee camps that they control on the Thai border. The rebels ban medical aid to those who are sick. They force adolescents and women to carry ammunition to their units through mined areas. As it used to be in Cambodia under Pol Pot, the death penalty is the punishment for disobedience. A rigid system of social and political control has been introduced in the refugee camps, similar to that which existed in Cambodia when the Pol Pot clique ruled there and when the country was transformed into a gigantic labor camp.

The representatives of the Khmer Rouge have declared their readiness to participate in any coalition government of the future Cambodia. Facts, however, attest to a different situation. The Pol Pot followers are trying to transport 15,000 refugees by force to the fighting zones and to establish bases for military operations there. Everything attests to the fact that the Khmer Rouge have not abandoned attempts to seize power in Cambodia, disregarding any results or attempts by other Cambodian sides to reach a settlement at a conference table.

All this is stated in a report prepared by the International Organization (?Rights Watch).

'Promising Prospects' for Peace

BK2602040889 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] Our observer writes: The outcome of the second Jakarta informal meeting [JIM-2] has brought promising prospects that a settlement for the conflict is about to be found. The process of the meeting, which started last year, made progress; the differences of opinion were narrowed and mutual understandings enlarged. This is a significant positive result achieved through the just ended meeting. The participants in the JIM-2 meeting focused their attention on the issues connected with the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia within a political framework, prevention of the Pol Pot group's return and of a civil war from erupting in Cambodia,

noninterference in Cambodia's domestic affairs, and termination of foreign aid to all the Cambodian parties. At the JIM-2 meeting those questions were studied in minute detail.

The success of the meeting was a result of the Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Lao delegates' comprehending and flexible gestures and their readiness to compromise for a settlement to the Cambodian problem. The greatly valuable task was fulfilled by the Indonesian party, which chaired the meeting. And other delegates were also realistic.

As for the Cambodian opposing factions, their attitudes were obviously hostile, primarily manifested by their ambition to regain power. It was difficult to confidently predict whether Pol Pot will return to Phnom Penh. In the heyday of their reign in Cambodia, the Polpotists massacred millions of innocent people. Now, they foment terror among the refugees abroad who crave vengeance. The armed hostilities against Cambodia and the ruthless atmosphere in Thailand's refugee camps have undoubtedly demonstrated the Pol Pot group's actions. Based on those facts, the Cambodian and Vietnamese delegates stressed the question of the Khmer Rouge, which is the key issue in the settlement of the Cambodian problem. Comrade Nguyen Co Thach, SRV foreign minister, said all the countries, in particular those who have provided military, political, and financial aid to the Pol Pot group and those who have allowed safe heaven to them, should ensure that a civil war will not occur and that the Pol Pot regime will not return to Cambodia. The countries involved in the conflict should realize that it is vitally important to safeguard the Cambodian people's interests and to ensure that they have the ability to rebuild a Cambodia that is independent, sovereign, at peace, neutral, and nonaligned on the basis of self-determination and national reconciliation.

Our observer continued: The Soviet people have attentively followed the events taking place in Indochina and in Southeast Asia. The positive changes in the world have also influenced the region. The improved relations between the Soviet Union and China and the United States, and between the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN states have made great contribution to clearing up the regional mess. As a result, this has ensured the firm groundwork for the new relations in Southeast Asia.

The participants in the Jakarta informal meeting earnestly called for transforming this region into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality. That being the case, the undoing of the Cambodian conflict's ties would contribute to the achievement of the commitment. We noted that the international aspects of the Cambodian problem have already been discussed as mentioned in the statement issued at the end of the meeting.

Burmese Opposition Preparing for Elections

BK1802130689 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Burma's military government has announced the timetable and preparation for the holding of multiparty general elections. According to reports from Rangoon, the Draft Election Law is expected to be announced on 1 March while preparations for the elections have been disclosed in detail. Political parties will be given 3 months to campaign before the election.

The Burmese authorities' announcement implied that elections would be held in May of next year. The registration of political parties will be completed on 28 February. So far, a total of 188 political parties have registered. However, observers believe that many parties may choose not to enter the political struggle or may merge into alliances.

It is learned that representatives of the political parties will be allowed to discuss the Draft Election Law after it is announced, and they will be able to submit suggestions and amendments. So far, leaders of the most well-known political parties have been very guarded in their reaction to steps taken by General Saw Maung's government to prove his pledge to hold elections. For example, earlier Gen Saw Maung announced that restrictions on freedom of speech, publications, and gatherings would be lifted prior to holding elections. However, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy [NLD], said that if the authorities are honest about holding fair and free elections, they should now lift the martial law imposed last September. She said martial law is impeding organizational work by the NLD and other parties.

Despite all this, according to press agency reports, the NLD has become the biggest and best-organized party in Burma with branches established throughout the country, and it has formed an alliance with 31 political parties.

Near East & South Asia

Israel's Arens, 'Arafat View Shevardnadze Talks

Arens Repeats 'Known Position'

LD2402231689 Moscow TASS in English 2229 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo February 25 TASS—Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens held a news conference in Cairo for Egyptian and foreign journalists in the aftermath of his meeting with Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze. He said that such meetings were necessary for Israel and the Soviet Union to be able to compare views, evaluations and positions, to lay down the foundation for mutual understanding. This will improve relations

between the two countries and, according to the minister, give the Soviet Union an opportunity to contribute to the peace process in the region.

Asked if there were changes in Israeli position on the Middle East settlement, Arens stressed the need for the countries of the region, which pursue hostile policy towards Israel and announced the state of war with it, to change their position in order to establish peace. At the same time he denied that a similar demand should extend to Israel.

The minister repeated the known position of Tel Aviv that direct talks (between Israel and Arab states) were the only road leading to peace in the region. Having confirmed that Israel refused to establish any contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Arens said that the PLO was the main obstacle to peace in the region.

Commenting on the uprising of the Palestinian people on occupied territories, Arens said it was nothing more than isolated attacks against Israelis.

Arens Rejects Talks With PLO

PM2402141989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch: "Still No Rapprochement of Positions. PLO and Israeli Spokesmen on Cairo Meetings"]

[Text] Cairo—E.A. Shevardnadze's meetings in the Egyptian capital with Israeli Foreign Minister M. Arens and Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, riveted the attention of hundreds of journalists.

At a press conference after the meeting M. Arens issued a statement in which he pointed out the importance of his talks with the Soviet foreign minister and stressed the significance of the role played by the Soviet Union on questions of securing a Near East settlement.

Your correspondent asked the Israeli foreign minister how the Israeli leadership's stance is changing against the backdrop of the obvious progression in the positions of the other sides interested in a settlement, including the PLO.

In response to this question, M. Arens said he saw no substantial changes in these positions and made no mention at all of the PLO here. It must be said that this viewpoint provoked frank perplexity among the journalists, since it is the decisions adopted at the Palestine National Council session in Algiers, in particular the recognition of the state of Israel, that have in many respects made constructive processes in the region possible. As is well known, the Palestinian state proclaimed at this session has now been recognized by dozens of countries throughout the world.

In response to other questions, M. Arens stressed that his government has no intention of holding talks with the PLO and confirmed its negative attitude to the idea of holding an international conference on the Near East.

It must be pointed out that M. Arens' opinion is by no means shared by all the members of the new Israeli Government. Approximately one-third of the members of the Knesset (parliament) support the idea of talks with PLO representatives.

What does the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee think about the possibility of talks with Israel?

In response to this question, Y. 'Arafat confirmed his organization's readiness for such talks. He also expressed resolute support for holding a conference on the Near East involving all the interested parties. A peace settlement, Y. 'Arafat stated, is an obvious necessity. At present, people are killed practically every day by Israeli soldiers on the occupied Palestinian territories.

The talks with E.A. Shevardnadze, he stressed, will undoubtedly help achieve a peace settlement in the region that takes into consideration the legitimate rights of all the peoples who live there.

'Arafat Stresses Mideast Conference

LD2402161389 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo February 24 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, stated at a press conference for foreign pressmen here today that "The Palestinians are ready to carry on direct or indirect talks with Israel on condition that they be held under the aegis of the United Nations or the five permanent Security Council members."

The PLO leader qualified his Cairo meeting with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze as "very important and positive."

Asked when he intended to start negotiations with the Israeli Government, 'Arafat said that "this will occur at an international peace conference." "Today they are not talks, but a dialogue," he said, adding that the Security Council Resolution 338 did not require direct negotiations. "My meeting with Shevardnadze," 'Arafat noted, "was, in fact, an indirect talk with Israel. Comrade Shevardnadze had a very important meeting with the Israeli delegation in the morning, and then he met the Palestinian delegation in the afternoon of the same day, in the same room, under the same 'umbrella,' so to say. He informed me of what the Israeli delegation had said, and told the latter about my viewpoint on a just peace."

"We are replying to Israel, but not directly," Yasir 'Arafat said. "We have expressed our view to West-European ministers, now to Eduard Shevardnadze, and prior to that to the Egyptians and Americans."

The PLO leader stressed that even a part of the Israeli Government and several leaders of Israeli political parties agreed that a dialogue was imperative.

He noted the important role played by West-European nations in settling the Middle East problem. Turning to the Palestinian-American dialogue, the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee stressed that the Palestinian side regularly informed the United States about its point of view. Noting that the new American Administration was busy elaborating its Middle East policy, he expressed the hope that this job would be completed shortly and practical steps would be taken to call an international conference.

'Arafat denied reports that the USSR had allegedly asked him to suspend the insurrection in occupied territories until a Middle East conference is called. "The Soviet Union was impressed by this national resistance to the unlawful Israeli occupation," he said.

The PLO leader called for an end to the crimes perpetrated by Israeli soldiery against Palestinians, stressed that he had ordered the people of occupied territories not to use arms during the uprising.

Shevardnadze Middle East 'Plan' Outlined

JN2502123589 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 23 Feb 89 p 17

[Text] Amman—AL-SIYASAH—Firsthand sources have disclosed to AL-SIYASAH what can be described as the detailed Soviet plan carried by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in his current Middle East tour. The Soviet minister discussed this plan with the Israeli foreign minister and Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat in Cairo yesterday.

These sources indicated that these Soviet ideas were discussed with PLO Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas while he was in Moscow a few days ago. A meeting was supposed to be held between Shevardnadze and 'Arafat in Baghdad, but the Soviet minister favored holding it in Cairo, where Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens was present, to facilitate the Soviet mission, which Moscow considers a sort of indirect Palestinian-Israeli talks.

These sources added that these ideas were crystallized following a series of contacts and talks with Israel at various levels. These talks include in particular those held in the house of Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Council, in New York. Taking part in those secret talks were Simha Dintiz, head of the Jewish agency, Dowen Andrias, chairman of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council, and its deputy director James Geven. [all names in paragraph as published]

The plan includes the following points and ideas:

1. Israeli withdrawal from major cities in the West Bank and Gaza.
2. Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon.
3. Symbolic international supervision of elections in the occupied territories.
4. Allowing candidates for election in the occupied territories to raise the PLO slogans that affirm their adherence to the PLO.
5. Palestinian representatives in an international conference will be those who were elected in the occupied territories.
6. Palestinian representatives to the talks will join the Jordanian delegation within a joint delegation.
7. The sources indicated that this Soviet plan has so far received no complete Palestinian or Israeli agreement. However, the plan is considered a basis for negotiations, which have so far achieved significant progress and will continue throughout the next 9 months, which Moscow considers a preparatory period before the convocation of an international conference.

USSR 'Changes' Mideast Plan for U.S., Israel

NC2502105989 Paris AFP in English 1036 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Abu Dhabi, Feb 25 (AFP)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnandze has made "significant" changes in his Middle East peace plan in deference to the United States and Israel, a United Arab Emirates (UAE) newspaper said Saturday.

AL-KHALIJ said that Mr. Shevardnadze in his talks with Arab and Israeli leaders had dropped the "most important" element of his plan, namely the need for a preparatory committee to arrange an international peace conference on the Middle East.

"Between Sunday in Damascus and Thursday in Cairo, Shevardnadze backed off from the most important parts of his peace plan," the Sharjah-based daily said.

"Since the only stated opposition to his proposals came from Israel, backed by America, there is every reason to believe Shevardnadze's significant concession was in submission to Israel and the United States."

The paper noted that Mr. Shevardnadze's plan unveiled in Damascus, on the first leg of a regional tour, envisaged forming a preparatory committee for a peace conference under United Nations auspices.

"This was close to the 'minimum level acceptable to the Arabs,'" the paper said. "But this similarity ended four days later," the paper said.

Mr. Shevardnadze said in Cairo, after meeting with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, that direct Arab-Israeli talks could lead to the international conference.

"What remains of the international conference? Is it not transformed into merely an umbrella, exactly as first perceived by America over two years ago?" the paper asked.

"This rapid retraction is strange and suspicious. It leads the observer to think that Moscow has changed its role into a mediator, whose mission is to push the Arab position closer to the American-Israeli views for a settlement."

The Israeli Government has rejected an international conference, favoring direct negotiations, whereas Washington has opposed an international forum with decision-making powers, as called for by Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Need for Mideast Peace Conference Stressed

LD2402102189 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—by TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov

Speaking at a press conference in Cairo on the results of the meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens confirmed Tel Aviv's negative postition on an international Middle East conference and contacts with the PLO. He claimed that now PLO is the main obstacle to peace in the region.

This position does not reflect the real state of affairs. A different position was taken by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat. Speaking in Cairo on the same day, the Palestinian leader confirmed the PLO's readiness to take part in the international Middle East conference and to start a political dialogue with Israel on the Palestinian question, which is the main issue of a Middle East settlement. But Tel Aviv is deadly against this. Israel's policy of obstruction results in procrastinating a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict which has been going on for decades and which sparked off five bloody wars.

Most world nations are now advocating the convocation of an international Middle East conference under the UN aegis. They see its task in giving a chance to the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, to return the occupied lands to Arabs and to ensure Israel the right to secure existence within internationally recognized borders. The international conference opens a real way to a mutually acceptable settlement in the region. This is impossible to achieve without the participation in the conference of the PLO, the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

Regrettably, time in the Middle East works more likely for war than for peace. The further preservation of the present situation there is fraught with new explosions. It is necessary to look for a solution of this complicated problem on the principles of freedom of choice and balance of interests—the only possible alternative in normal international relations. For the time being, only one side, Palestinians, take constructive steps to change the situation in the region. But this is not sufficient, of course. Israel should meet Palestinians halfway.

There is no alternative to reconciliation and settlement. The sooner Tel Aviv understands this, the more there will be chances for achieving an all-embracing, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Shevardnadze Meets With Iraqi Foreign Minister

Persian Gulf, Relations Discussed

LD2402121389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1138 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad, 24 Feb (TASS)—Talks began here on Friday between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Tariq 'Aziz, member of the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq and foreign minister. Under discussion are a broad range of issues concerning the situation in the Near East, the Persian Gulf region, Soviet-Iraqi bilateral relations, and the pooling of efforts to solve international problems.

At a press conference following his arrival in Baghdad, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that favorable conditions have developed for a Near East settlement. This is connected, primarily, with the uprising of the Palestinian people that has been continuing for over a year, and the initiatives put forward by the PLO.

Further on Talks

LD2502033189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze is on an official visit to the Republic of Iraq. Our special correspondents report from Baghdad:

[Begin recording] [F. Seyful-Mulyukov] The dialogue between Moscow and Baghdad has been going on for many years now. The first visit to Iraq by a Soviet foreign minister in the history of our relations is generating great interest here.

The Soviet visitor was met at Baghdad Airport by Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Iraq, and other officials.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich told local journalists about the purpose of his visit and the main topics for talks with the leaders of Iraq. The USSR and Iraq established diplomatic relations 45 years ago. Since then, friendly relations between our countries have grown in various fields. A broad range of matters is to be discussed during this

new Soviet-Iraqi meeting: the further development of our cooperation, the current state of the Iran-Iraq talks, the situation in the Persian Gulf, and the prospects for a Near East Settlement.

In reply to questioning, Tariq 'Aziz said:

['Aziz in Arabic fading into summary in Russian by Seyful-Mulyukov] The Iraqi leadership attaches great significance to Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Baghdad. This visit will enable us to discuss with our Soviet friends important international matters, and primarily those issues that cause anxiety to the countries of the Near and Middle East. We have already accumulated a great deal of experience in Iraqi-Soviet political consultations. Our country welcomes the Soviet Union's vigorous actions in settling regional conflicts, and particularly her actions aimed at achieving a just peace in the Near East. I am convinced that the current meeting in Baghdad will be successful.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Soviet-Iraqi talks started here today. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze had a thorough and constructive exchange of opinions with Tariq 'Aziz, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Iraq, on international and regional problems. During an exmination of the situation in the region of the Persian Gulf, it was stressed that it is essential to seek to make progress at the Iran-Iraq talks and to unravel the existing knots on the basis of realism and consideration by each side for the interests of the two countries. It is important to do everything to ensure that the process of settlement that has begun is not disrupted, and to rule out recidivist armed actions.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze told Tariq 'Aziz about his talks in Damascus, Amman, and Cairo. The Soviet-Iraqi talks are continuing. [video shows Shevardnadze arriving and being met at the airport; Shevardnadze talking to journalists; 'Aziz talking to Seyful-Mulyukov; scene from Soviet-Iraqi talks with the two sides seated at a long table, at least seven on either side]

[Second correspondent] Today the USSR foreign minister laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Baghdad. [video shows Shevardnadze walking behind the wreath] [end recording]

Reducing Gulf Tension Discussed

PM2502193989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 February 89 Second Edition p 4

["Talks Held"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Baghdad, 24 Feb—Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, who is staying in Baghdad on an official visit, has met Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Iraq.

The ministers outlined their assessment of the state of Soviet-Iraqi relations and expressed deep satisfaction over their high level and progressive development in all areas of cooperation. The importance was noted of a healthy and solid basis for mutual relations between the two states in the form of the 1972 friendship and cooperation treaty and the mutual understanding attained at the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Saddam Husayn in 1985. Both sides stressed their desire to continue building the relations between the states on the basis of full equal rights, of mutual respect, and reciprocal benefit.

Tariq 'Aziz gave a detailed outline of the Iraqi standpoint on the state of affairs with regard to the process of settling the conflict between Iraq and Iran. Comrade Shevardnadze thanked him for the information, which is especially topical in connection with his forthcoming visit to Iran. The Soviet minister stressed the necessity of being persistent and purposeful in working toward getting the negotiation process between Iran and Iraq to gather its own momentum and become more productive. With these aims in mind, the whole arsenal of diplomatic resources should be used, as well as the possibilities of the United National Organization, in particular, its secretary general's mediating mission.

An exchange of views took place at the meeting on the Persian Gulf situation and ways to reduce tension in this region, something which would meet the interests of not only the littoral states but also broader interests of peace and security.

The talks are taking place in an open and friendly atmosphere. Comrade Shevardnadze laid a wreath at the grave of the unknown soldier. In the afternoon Eduard Amvrosievich Shevardnadze left for the city of Basra to meet Saddam Husayn, the president of the Iraqi Republic, who is staying there.

25 Feb Talk Views Mideast Conflict

PM2602190389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p4

[TASS report under general heading: "Conversations Held"]

[Text] Baghdad, 25 Feb—The final talk has been held here between the Soviet and Iraqi foreign ministers within the framework of E.A. Shevardnadze's official visit to the Republic of Iraq.

The ministers highly appraised the nature and substance of E.A. Shevardnadze's meeting with Iraqi President S. Husayn the day before. They stressed that a rich harvest of ideas was gathered at that meeting, which will make it possible to make Soviet-Iraqi relations even richer. Following up the results of the conversation with the president, the ministers outlined some specific measures to

further broaden cooperation and deepen mutual understanding between the two countries. E.A. Shevardnadze and T. 'Aziz agreed, in particular, to place consultations between the Soviet and Iraqi foreign ministries on a more systematic footing.

They discussed the Near East problem in depth and from every angle. Sharing his observations from his visits to a number of countries in the region, E.A. Shevardnadze expressed the belief that the time is now ripe for stepping up efforts to prepare for an international conference and set out the Soviet side's ideas on the possible forms of preparatory work, which envisage the maximum effective use of the UN mechanism and the UN Security Council. T. 'Aziz expressed support for the Soviet Union's initiatives to promote a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Touching on the Lebanese problem, E.A. Shevardnadze and T. 'Aziz stressed the need to preserve that country's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. The ministers spoke in favor of collective efforts and in support of the activities of the Arab League "Committee of Six."

During the discussion of Near East problems, great attention was devoted to the task of achieving unity between the Arabs, as a key condition of reaching the earliest possible political settlement.

In conclusion, the ministers expressed deep satisfaction with the results of E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Iraq, which has proved an important landmark in Soviet-Iraqi relations.

Shevardnadze Holds Talks With Iraqi President

Delivers Gorbachev Letter

LD2402212289 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad February 24 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today held talks with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn in Basra, southern Iraq. He conveyed a written message to the Iraqi president from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, dealing with Soviet-Iraqi bilateral relations and expressing the wish to further develop them.

In the course of the talks both sides agreed to continue active actions in this field. They also discussed the state of Iranian-Iraqi talks held under the aegis of the UN secretary-general. Saddam Husayn stated Iraq's desire for a complete and lasting peace with Iran. An agreement was reached to continue the relevant contacts.

During the talks the sides also discussed the Palestinian issue and pointed to the need for active actions in rendering assistance to the initiatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Afghanistan and other issues of mutual interest were considered. The meeting, which continued for more than three hours, was attended by Iraq's foreign minister Tariq 'Aziz, Defense Minister 'Adnan Khayrallah, Soviet Ambassador to Iraq Viktor Minin, and Iraqi Ambassador to the USSR Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal.

Discusses Ties, Iran Settlement

LD2502152989 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad February 25 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, paying an official visit to Iraq at the invitation of the Iraqi leadership, had a meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, in Basra Friday afternoon.

Shevardnadze delivered a personal message to Saddam Husayn from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

A wide range of bilateral, regional and global issues were discussed. Saddam Husayn was told about the restructuring process which had developed in the Soviet Union and about the efforts of the Soviet state towards asserting the new political thinking in international affairs, towards democratizing relations between states, towards establishing the principles of cooperation in them and towards achieving real progress in the cause of disarmament and solving other urgent global problems.

The president of Iraq expressed full support for the policy of perestroyka and gave a high appraisal of the Soviet peace initiatives and big strides which had already been made in the field of disarmament, and emphasized their importance for the interests of all countries and for the overall warming of the political climate in the world. For his part, Saddam Husayn described the efforts being made by the Iraqi leadership to ensure further economic and social development of the country at a time when it is essential to rehabilitate what was ravaged during the years of war.

The sides were gratified to point out a high level and versatile character of relations between the Soviet Union and Iraq, a steady expansion of cooperation in the political, trade, economic, cultural, scientific, technical and other fields.

All this, in the opinion of the participants in the meeting, inspires confidence in a stable and reliable future of Soviet-Iraqi relations. It was pointed out that there were opportunities for further refining mutually beneficial bilateral ties and for giving them a still more dynamic, effective and in a way exemplary character.

It was agreed to set up a group of experts from among the leading specialists and scientists of the two countries to comprehensively consider prospects for Soviet-Iraqi cooperation in the economic field.

The Soviet minister shared his impressions of the meetings and conversations which he had had in Damascus, Amman, and Cairo and which had dealt with the search for approaches to a Middle East settlement on the basis of the freedom of choice and the balance of interests of the parties involved. He emphasized that conditions were becoming ripe in the region for a historic compromise between the Arabs and the Israelis.

During an exchange of views on this issue, full identity of views on key aspects of a settlement, and in particular on the need to move on to a practical preparation of an international Middle East peace conference, manifested itself. [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 26 February in its Morning Edition on page 4 carries a similar TASS report on the Shevardnadze-Husayn talks which characterizes the talks as follows: "The exchange of opinions on this issue revealed complete unanimity of views on the key points of a settlement and, in particular, with regard to the need to switch to practical perparations for an international conference on the Near East."] A particular importance of ensuring the unity of the Arab ranks at the present crucial stage was emphasized in this connection.

During an exchange of views on matters concerning Iran-Iraq settlement, the Soviet side laid emphasis on the need to intensify efforts with a view to finding mutually acceptable solutions leading to practical accords between Iran and Iraq.

It was emphasized that the stands of the negotiators can be reduced to a common denominator only if both sides show goodwill, a well thought-out approach and political realism. The Iraqi president was told that the Soviet Union, as before, would do everything depending on it to promote the Iran-Iraq negotiating process.

Saddam Husayn appreciated the Soviet Union's stand concerning the search for ways towards a settlement. [IZVESTIYA at this point characterizes Husayn's position as follows: "S. Husayn was receptive to [s ponimaniyem vosprinyal] the Soviet Union's position with regard to the search for a settlement."] He emphasized that the Arab side sought to establish and develop peaceful, goodneighbourly relations with Iran and would work in that direction.

The meeting was held in the spirit of frankness and comradely mutual understanding. The sides noted its businesslike, constructive and highly useful character and expressed the opinion that the results of the visit would contribute to further strengthening relations between the Soviet Union and Iraq.

Comments on Talks

LD2602160589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] As has already been reported, Comrade Shevardnadze's official visit to Iraq has ended. He held talks with Foreign Minister 'Aziz and had a meeting with President Saddam Husayn of the Iraqi Republic. The Arab press points out that a wide range of international problems was discussed, including the prospects for the Iran-Iraq negotiations in Geneva, the situation in the Persian Gulf, and topical issues relating to a Near East settlement and the development of cooperation between the USSR and Iraq. The Iraqi press stressed that Saddam Husayn gave active support to the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of the new political thinking, aimed at a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts.

Before his departure by air for Tehran, Comrade Shevardnadze spoke at a press conference at which he reported the gist of the meetings and talks that had taken place. He said, in part:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] I briefed the president about our meetings and talks with the leaders of Syria, Jordan, and Egypt, with the PLO chairman, and with the Israeli foreign minister on the problems of a Near East settlement. We noted that our assessments of the situation that has currently emerged in that region fully coincided. Iraq, like the Soviet Union, considers that the convening of an international conference on the Near East can be the only realistic way of resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. The sides fully share the view that collective efforts must be intensified, first and foremost with the framework of the UN Security Council, in connection with the preparation of an international conference.

The Iraqi leader stressed his country's readiness to make a fresh contribution toward strengthening Arab unity. This is an obligatory prerequisite for the success of the Palestinian cause.

A number of central international problems were touched upon in the talks, first that of disarmament in all its forms and aspects. The exchange of opinions reflects, here too, the proximity of the positions of the Soviet Union and Iraq on the key issues of contemporary world politics, in particular in the sphere of strengthening world and regional security.

The talks with the president were conducted in Basra, where he was engaged in organizing reconstruction work.

The town itself and the picture of its life created, I would say, a special backdrop for our conversation. We perceived that peace has at last come to the Iraqi land, just as it has come for Iran, too. In this [word indistinct] frontline town, the inhabitants, engaged in peaceful labor, have gained tranquility and confidence. It is a joy

to see that for them war is now in the past. The president stressed that Iraq is in favor of peaceful, good-neighborly relations with Iran; and that settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict is in the interests of the two neighboring peoples and in the interests of the security of the entire region and the whole world.

As you know, we conveyed to the Iraqi president a personal message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, which expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government to render support and assistance in every possible way during the Iran-Iraq talks to the mediatory mission of the UN secretary general. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Departs Iraq 25 Feb for Tehran

LD2502145389 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad February 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Iraq Saturday upon the completion of his official visit here.

At the international airport, he was seen off by Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz and other officials.

Shevardnadze Arrives in Tehran 25 Feb

LD2502173289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran, 25 Feb (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived in the Islamic Republic of Iran on an official visit today. He was met at the airport by 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian Foreign Minister.

Among those meeting him was V.V. Gudev USSR Ambassador to Iran.

Shevardnadze Meets With Iran's Khomeyni

Delivers Gorbachev Message

LD2602144989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran, 26 Feb (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is in Iran on an official visit, has met with Imam R.M. Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed to the Iranian leader a personal message of reply from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Imam R.M. Khomeyni thanked him for the message and said that he attaches great significance to the exchange of opinions with the Soviet head of state.

Imam Khomeyni supported the idea expressed in M.S. Gorbachev's message to the effect that favorable preconditions are taking shape for Soviet-Iranian relations to reach a new stage. Imam Khomeyni also expressed his agreement with a number of other provisions of M.S. Gorbachev's message.

In a conversation which then took place, E.A. Shevardnadze summed up the Soviet leadership's views of the contemporary world, trends of world politics, as well as opportunities and methods of tackling acute general human problems.

The need was stressed for joint action by all people, regardless of their views and convictions, to avert the threat to world civilization from the arms race, the ecological catastrophe, and economic crisis. Life urgently demands the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, a reduction in the levels of military confrontation, and the settlement of regional conflicts. In the Soviet leader's opinion, herein lies the common human interest.

E.A. Shevardnadze spoke about the essence of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and about the goals and basic directions of Soviet foreign policy.

It was stated that the USSR intends to base its relations with Iran on principles of complete equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit.

Imam Khomeyni displayed great interest in what the Soviet minister said to him.

The two sides stressed the great significance of the conversation that took place, and also its usefulness for better mutual understanding and the future of Soviet-Iranian relations.

A. Khomeyni, the Imam's son, Iranian Foreign Minister A.A. Velayati, and Deputy Foreign Minister M.J. Larijani were present at the conversation.

Further on Talks

LD2602214989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by political observer Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze, who is in Iran on an official visit, met with Imam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Comrade Shevardnadze conveyed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's personal reply to Imam Khomeyni.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] Comrade Gorbachev points out that in international relations, interstate relations, and relations between peoples we are guided by, and our main principle is, the unconditional recognition of freedom of choice for every individual, every people,

and every nation. Therefore, as a natural phenomenon, we, and our entire people, sincerely welcomed your great revolution. It put an end to the shah's dictatorship, which had been exploiting its own people by using barbarous methods and by trampling on the dignity of its own people to please imperialism and foreign forces.

It was your choice, the choice of your people. We welcomed and supported it and do support it. [end recording] [video shows Khomeyni, Shevardnadze with his interpreter, Ahmad Khomeyni, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, and Mohammad Larijani sitting in a room]

Imam Khomeyni expressed thanks for the message. He said that he attaches great importance to the exchange of views with the leader of the Soviet state and supported the thought set forth in the message to the effect that favorable prerequisites are taking shape that enable Soviet-Iranian relations to attain a new level.

In the conversation that followed, Comrade Shevardnadze stressed the need for joint actions by all people—regardless of their views and convictions—aimed at preventing the threat to the world civilization posed by the arms race, ecological catastrophe, and economic crisis. Life urgently requires the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, a reduction in the levels of military confrontation, and solutions to settle regional conflicts. The Soviet leadership believes that this answers interests common to all mankind. [video shows Shevardnadze, Velayati, and other officials talking]

In an interview with Farid Seyyful-Mulyukov, special correspondent of Soviet television, Mr Velayati said, inter alia:

[Begin recording] [Velayati in Persian fading into superimposed Russian translation by Seyyful-Mulyukov] The meeting between Imam Khomeyni and USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is of great political importance for strengthening our relations. The exchange of messages between the leaders of the two countries and the talks being held open favorable opportunities for continuing Soviet-Iranian dialogue and expanding our cooperation. [end recording]

This cooperation, Velayati stressed, is reaching new levels. [video shows Velayati and Seyyful-Mulyukov talking]

Shevardnadze, Iran's Kahmene'i Hold Talks

LD2702154889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] A meeting has been held in Tehran between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is on an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Iranian President S.A. Khamene'i.

S.A. Khamene'i and E.A. Shevardnadze stressed the great symbolic and political significance of the exchange of messages that took place between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Iran, containing profound philosophical thoughts about the destiny of the world and the future of Soviet-Iranian relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze noted that the Soviet leadership, which has made taking the ideology out of interstate relations one of the basic principles of its policies, gives priority significance to the development of good-neighborly relations with Iran, despite the substantial ideological differences existing between the two countries. Iran, in the words of its president, adheres to a similar approach, and its attitudes toward other countries are determined not by their ideology but their politics.

E.A. Shevardnadze and S.A. Khamene'i noted that the Soviet Union and Iran effect constructive cooperation on a wide range of international problems on which their fundamental objectives coincide—peace and the elimination of seats of tension.

They stated the desire of their countries for a rapid settlement to the Iran-Iraq conflict. E.A. Shevardnadze spoke in favor of continuing dialogue by using the mechanism of the United Nations and with the participation of its secretary general.

In discussing the situation concerning Afghanistan, the desire was noted of the Soviet and Iranian sides to halt the bloodshed and secure the country's status as truly sovereign, nonaligned, and neutral. E.A. Shevardnadze stressed that national reconciliation in Afghanistan must take into account the interests of all Afghans, including, obviously, those forces represented by the present government.

S.A. Khamene'i and E.A. Shevardnadze spoke in support of withdrawing the fleets of all non-littoral states from the Persian Gulf. It was noted that the region's security should be ensured only by the countries of the region, with appropriate guarantees from the United Nations.

The two sides noted that the considerable potential of Soviet-Iranian cooperation in the sphere of science, technology, economics and culture remains to be mobilized. Particular attention will be afforded this aspect of Soviet-Iranian interaction.

The president of Iran conveyed greetings and best wishes to M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The conversation took place in a constructive and friendly spirit.

Shevardnadze Visit to Iran Previewed
NC2502124589 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 24 Feb 89

[(Vyacheslav Terikhov) commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is to begin his official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran on 25 February. Our diplomatic correspondent (Vyacheslav Terikhov) writes the following:

This visit will be an important event in the process of developing Soviet-Iranian relations. It is hoped that during the meetings and talks in Tehran, a (?wide range) of issues of mutual interest will be studied.

It should be noted that there are many such issues, and they pertain both to joint relations and to international issues.

The Soviet Union and Iran have amassed great experience in the fields of commercial and economic cooperation. During the recent session of the Standing Committee for Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation, the two sides expressed their readiness to expand commercial relations in the future on the basis of mutual interests. They also pointed out that this process should be carried out by bearing in mind the objectives of the Soviet Union's economic [word indistinct] process and the need for reconstructing Iran's economy in the postwar era.

Soviet-Iranian cooperation in steel manufacturing, electricity generation, transportation, mutual use of rivers on their borders, as well as in delivering Iranian [natural] gas to the Soviet Union and in other cooperative efforts between the two countries can and should be expanded to benefit both Iran and the Soviet Union.

Our correspondent then writes: As for international issues and the regional situation, it should be said that ensuring security and stability in the Persian Gulf and solving the Afghanistan problem through peaceful means, especially after the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from that country ended, are of special significance.

In short, one can say that all necessary conditions exist for the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Iran to play an important role in consolidating goodneighborliness, friendship, and manifold cooperation between the two countries.

Iran's Drug Problems Linked to Afghanistan
NC2002111089 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Aleksandr Batev commentary]

[Text] IRNA reports that since late January more than 180 drug smugglers have been hanged in Iran. We invite you to listen to a commentary by analyst Aleksandr Batev.

He writes: This IRNA report proves the decisive determination of the Iranian officials in the fight against drug smuggling. In a new law that became effective on 21 January, possession of a few grams of heroin is punishable by hanging.

The fight against drug smuggling is in proportion to the amount of drug addiction in Iran. According to official figures, there are about one million drug addicts. However, according to AP, based on unofficial figures, the number of addicts is almost two million.

The dire and calamitous condition of hundreds of thousands of Iranian families dictated that serious steps should have been taken a long time ago in the fight against drug smuggling. Our commentator says: However, I dare say that the postponement of this struggle which—according to official statements—is the most extensive fight against drug smuggling ever in Iran, was not accidental but contingent on a series of other elements. The first is that the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq fronts released the people necessary for this fight. The second, and most important, is that the time when the fight started was related to the course of events in Afghanistan.

We know that drugs come to Iran largely from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Drug operations are controlled and supervised by armed paramilitary groups of the Afghan opposition that have become esconced in Iran. And it is not a secret that the Iranian leadership, which was striving for the withdrawal of the limited Soviet contingents from Afghanistan and which encouraged the Afghan rebels' attempts toward this effect, ignored the drug smuggling carried out by the rebels' leaders. However, when the withdrawal of the limited Soviet contingents from Afghanistan became a definite fact, the Iranian leadership apparently decided to establish law and order and put everyone in his place. As a result, the IRGC guard posts closed down the Iran-Afghanistan and the Iran-Pakistan borders. According to the Iranian press, the revolutionary guards started a full-scale war with the caravans of smugglers and their armed guards, and namely the Afghan rebels. Caravans carrying drugs usually set off from the area known as the Golden Crescent, which includes the borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is there that, under the control of the Afghan opposition, poppy cultivation and laboratories processing drugs from opium are concentrated.

In order to realize the extent of drug smuggling in that area, I will list a few facts. One is that one-third of the drugs used in the United States and about half of the total amount of drugs used in Western Europe reach those countries from the Golden Crescent. The transport of drugs from this area is generally carried out via Pakistan's air routes and seaports. However, as a result of steps taken by the Pakistani Government, drug smugglers began to look for other routes, as much as possible. These routes, incidentally, pass through Indian and Iranian territory and, recently, through Soviet territory.

Soviet customs agents have repeatedly seized suspicious containers that were in transmit from Pakistan to Western Europe via the Soviet Union. Even though the bills of lading of these containers stated harmless products, nevertheless, large quantities of drugs were found. The confiscated drugs were burned in public. However, the destruction of drugs is not in any way sufficient. All the possible routes for drug trafficking should be closed down.

Soviet customs officials have contacted customs in Great Britain, Canada, and other countries on several occasions, and have carried out successful joint operations for the discovery of drugs and the arrest of members of international criminal organizations to hand them to the courts for trial. Soviet customs officials state that they are willing to expand international cooperation in the fight against drug smuggling.

It should be said that everyone believes in the need for this cooperation because drug smuggling has become an international issue. Therefore, the fight against it requires joint efforts by various countries.

According to IRNA, Mr 'Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, Iran's interior minister, recently spoke about the Iranian Government's wish to cooperate with other countries in the fight against drug smuggling.

Who knows? Maybe in the future, Soviet and Iranian organizations will set up direct contacts in this field. Well, why not? After all, drug addiction is a universal danger.

Najibullah, Soviet Envoy Vorontsov Meet 25 Feb

LD2502194389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1825 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 25 Feb (TASS)—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan received Yu.M. Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR and the USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, today.

In the course of the conversation the Soviet diplomat briefed the president of the Republic of Afghanistan on the results of the negotiations with Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi, high-ranking representatives of the Italian Foreign Ministry, Pope John Paul II, and leaders of the Italian Communist Party on a political settlement around Afghanistan.

Najibullah Addresses National Assembly 25 Feb

LD2502225789 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 25 TASS—Afghan President Najibullah addressed the first sitting of the National Assembly of the second convocation on Saturday.

He said the three months of vacations for members of the National Assembly were a period of hardships and important political events in Afghan history.

"We used all internal and external oportunities and channels to implement the national reconciliation policy," Najibullah said.

At the proposal and with full consent of the Afghan Government, the Soviet Union's first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan Yuliy Vorontsov held talks with opposition representatives in Islamabad, at Al-Ta'if, Tehran, and Rome, he went on.

However, leaders of groups based in Pakistan, who did not have a single position at the negotiating table, irresponsibly rejected the talks. After that, some of them called for the continuation of contacts.

As to the leaders of the "Eight-Party Alliance" based in Iran, they called for the participation of all political forces of Afghanistan, without exception, in deciding the country's future.

As a result of such developments, opposition leaders in pursuit of power, competing with one another and not taking into account the rights of other sides, such as commanders of armed groups inside the country and political figures in exile, took a decision to continue the war and fratricide, Najibullah said.

"At the same time, we did not stop our efforts to establish contacts with opposition forces," he went on.

"We announced a ceasefire as the first and important step toward peace in the country, but regrettably this step was irresponsibly rejected by the other side.

"In full accordance with the Geneva accords, the Soviet Union completed the withdrawal of its troops from Afghan territory by February 15, and there is now not a single Soviet soldier in Afghanistan," the Afghan president said.

He said this step showed the Afghan Government's adherence to the Geneva accords, while the United States and Pakistan grossly and openly violate them.

"Moreover, our enemies from the 'irreconcilable' opposition and their patrons have shown their anti-national and aggressive nature in full measure," Najibullah continued.

"After the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal the 'irreconcilable' opposition has stepped up its subversive activities.

"The reactionary militarist quarters in Pakistan have invigorated their support for opposition forces which have intensified attacks on communications and cities," he said.

"They seek to deprive the Afghan population of food at a time when people suffer hardships due to severe weather conditions, and doom them to death from starvation and diseases," the president said.

"Islamabad's support for armed opposition groups has reached such a scale that Pakistani border militia and regular troops guide their criminal activities.

"Several days before the completion of the Soviet troops withdrawal Pakistan began to concentrate its troops on the Afghan border," Najibullah said.

"After the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal our armed forces face the task of independently defending the national independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan," the president said.

"You can see that they are fulfilling their duty despite the invigoration of combat actions by the opposition. It is necessary to create conditions for defending, broadening and deepening the achievements of the national reconciliation policy."

Najibullah said that all measures taken by the government are aimed at strengthening the principles of the Constitution.

"In the present-day conditions the declaration of the state of emergency does not contradict norms of international law," he said adding that the delegation of some National Assembly functions to the Cabinet of Ministers was caused by the need to take some steps within the shortest possible time.

"This in no way is a violation of the country's laws, human rights and liberties will be observed," he said.

Najibullah described the move as temporary, saying it will be abolished very soon in certain conditions.

The important role of parliament in the solution of topical problems will be preserved. The state of emergency is aimed at achieving national accord, establishing broad dialogue and, ultimately, forming a government on a broad social basis, he said.

"We're ready for talks with every political figure, any group prepared to defend the principles of national sovereignty of our homeland," Najibullah said.

"Now the commanders of armed groups in Afghanistan have conditions for freeing themselves from the diktat of opposition leaders based in Pakistan who used the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan as a pretext for continuing the bloodshed."

"There are no Soviet soldiers here now, nor are there any reasons for continuing the war," the Afghan president said.

"As to the attempts to convene the so-called 'shura', to form and 'export' to Afghanistan an Afghan-Pakistani 'government', it is perfectly clear that the Peshawar leaders forgot about their commanders inside the country.

"The extremists even failed to work out a single stand and programme at their council," Najibullah went on.

"Such a 'shura', which Afghans described as Pakistani since it was convened under the pressure of Pakistani intelligence services, cannot count on international respect.

"Delegates of the 'Eight-Party Alliance' left the council meeting as they were deprived of adequate representation.

"Supporters of former King Zahir Shah stage demonstrations of protest, commanders of opposition groups acting in Afghanistan, who were invited to the 'shura' meeting, did not agree with the decisions of those who had organised it, and some of them denounced the very establishment of the council," Najibullah continued.

"Apparently, those who organised the 'shura' wish to dictate their will to our people from abroad."

The president said that "we'll use all opportunities to draw the attention of the whole world to the violation by the United States and Pakistan of the Geneva accords.

"After the Soviet troop withdrawal the Afghan Government most sincerely proposes to these countries opening a new page in relations with Afghanistan," he said.

Najibullah called for the creation of a UN mechanism for rendering assistance to the Afghan people in establishing peace and reviving Afghanistan, which he said would be a humane mission of the whole international community.

Najibullah 17 Feb BBC Interview Cited

LD1802014289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2229 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] London, 18 Feb (TASS)—After almost 10 years of dreadful and destructive warfare, we want peace to come to our homes. This was said on Friday in an interview for the British Television company the BBC by Afghan President Najibullah. In answer to questions by the company's correspondent in Kabul, he stressed: "There has been enough war and bloodshed. The time has come to heal the wounds and restore our ravaged country." Commenting on President G. Bush's statement to the effect that the United States will continue to provide military assistance to the armed opposition, Najubullah said: "I have said before that once the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan, there would be no sense in continuing to supply arms to the opposition."

Afghan Protest Over Pakistan's Role at 'Shura'
PM2702112789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS roundup: "Afghanistan: Time of Severe Ordeals"]

[Excerpt] Kabul, 26 Feb—[passage omitted] Those behind the war against Afghanistan are stepping up the scale of the bloodshed and fratricide, says an Afghan Foreign Ministry statement in connection with the proclamation in Rawalpandi of the so-called "provisional government" of opposition. This "government," the document says, was knocked together under direct pressure from the Pakistani special services and their imperialist patrons, which is a clear breach of the UN Charter, the Geneva agreements, the resolution of the 43d UN General Assembly Session on Afghanistan, and other universally recognized international legal norms. This constitutes interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign, nonaligned state that is a member of the United Nations and other authoritative international organizations. The Pakistani authorities' objectives in setting up this "government" are becoming increasingly apparent—the gentlemen from Pakistan are using it as a cover for their unseemly expansionist plans to create a "Pakistani-Afghan confederation," their purpose being to violate Afghanistan's independence. These intrigues are angrily condemned by the Afghan people.

The Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly stated that the convening of any "shura" without the participation of real political forces inside and outside Afghanistan can only hinder a political settlement of the Afghan problem. A "government" and "shura" of this kind will not have the confidence of the Afghan people, says the document broadcast by the BAKHTAR agency.

The BAKHTAR agency reported that subunits of government forces have carried out operations to eliminate detachments of extremists in the provinces of Nangarhar, Herat, Baghlan, Konduz, Paktia, and Sar-e Pol and on the Konduz-Poran ["Poran" as transliterated] highway.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent the UN observers' group in Kabul another four notes citing new instances of Pakistani violations of provisions of the Geneva agreements. In particular, they point out that the activities of Afghan counterrevolutionary training camps on Pakistani territory and the supplying of extremist detachments with weapons and ammunition cannot be tolerated. [passage omitted]

Afghanistan Protests to Pakistan on 'Aggression'
LD2402095589 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 24 TASS—The Pakistani charge d'affaires ad interim in Afghanistan was summoned to the Foreign Ministry here this Thursday where a resolute protest was lodged in connection with a direct act of aggression committed against Afghanistan. A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry has pointed out that units of Pakistani tribal militia, totalling 1,500 men, had infiltrated Afghan territory in Kunarha Province a few days ago and attacked Sarkani District. According to incoming reports, they are trying to make contact with detachments of the Afghan opposition with a view to launching a joint attack on Jalalabad. The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan has demanded that Pakistan should immediately stop hostile actions tending to escalate tensions in relations between the two states.

Afghan Rebel Shura Reaches 'Shaky Compromise'
PM2402185789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Review by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy in Kabul under the rubric "Afghanistan": "Shaky Compromise in the Opposition Camp"]

[Text] After prolonged, bitter debates in the Consultative Council (shura), the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" based in Pakistan have managed to reach an agreement regarding the formation of the so-called mujahidin "interim government." S. Mujadeddi, leader of the moderate "Front for the National Salvation of Afghanistan," has been elected president. Rasul Sayyaf, leader of the fundamentalist "Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan," has been named prime minister.

As AFP has stressed, the shura, which was supposed to have lasted 3 days but in fact extended over 2 weeks, has reached a compromise between the moderates and the fundamentalists within the Peshawar "Seven-Party Alliance." The agency has also stressed that, for the majority of foreign countries supporting the Afghan armed opposition, this is an acceptable option.

REUTER has reported that Western diplomats have primarily applauded the election of S. Mujadeddi. (Our newspaper has already carried a report about him; S. Mujadeddi used to lecture at Kabul University on religion, was the imam of the Copenhagen Mosque, speaks five languages, is oriented toward Western aid and financial support, and supports the idea of the former king, Zahir Shah, returning). At the same time, the mujahidin patrons are bewildered by the election of fundamentalist R. Sayyaf as "premier"; he is leader of one of the smallest parties in the alliance and has close links with Saudi Arabia.

However, as REUTER has pointed out, S. Mujadeddi won by only one vote over R. Sayyaf (174 against 173). As a result, the victor was made "president" as agreed.

The eight pro-Iranian Shi'ite groups did not take part in the work of the shura, and S. Mujadeddi himself boycotted several of the council sessions as a sign of disagreement with the virtual exclusion of the "Alliance of Eight."

Political observers have said that the elections have only very slightly changed the situation in the power struggle, according to West Germany's DPA. The agency has pointed out that the mujahidin themselves recently said that the shura represents only one-third of Afghan public opinion and that the elected government will need the approval of the opposition field commanders fighting in Afghanistan itself.

For the Peshawar figures this is a serious obstacle. While the shura was in session, two of the most influential commanders of opposition groups, Ahmad Shah Mas'ud from Panjshir and Turan Ismail [name as published] from Herat, sent a message to the Consultative Council in which they expressed total disagreement with its previous decision to elect a government under the chairmanship of engineer A. Shah, a supporter of G. Hikmatyar.

When the shura had completed its work, DPA stressed, "No statement was issued for the press from which it would have been possible to judge the future political orientation of the 'interim government.'"

Let us remind you that the leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" categorically refused to invite representatives of the Afghan Government or any persons cooperating with the present regime to take part in the shura.

The actual idea of a Consultative Council as an interim body designed to form a coalition government is reasonable, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said at a briefing in Moscow. However, it is quite obvious that the entire spectrum of Afghanistan's political forces must be involved in such a council, including, of course, the PDPA and the government of the Republic of Afghanistan. Otherwise, national accord will not be achieved in Afghanistan.

Reporting on the results of the shura, REUTER pointed out that so far the only statement issued by the "interim government" has been its promise to hold elections in 8 months. But this period could be extended, the agency continued, "if Najibullah holds onto power in Kabul and other major cities."

Our TASS correspondent has reported to the editorial office from the Afghan capital that the situation in Kabul continues to remain absolutely calm. Western reporters see tension in the constant searches carried out in the city. In fact, some more terrorists have been arrested in the last 24 hours and a large arms depot has been found in the Shavaki [name as published] region on the outskirts of Kabul. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of residents are going about their business and not really reacting to rumors that the rebels are going to step up their onslaught on the capital at the end of the shura session.

The only serious situation so far is the one taking shape around Jalalabad. On the Salang Highway, the rebels destroyed two government posts, but the position was soon restored. Freight convoys are travelling through the pass without impediment. In Qandahar, despite assurances by the American press that the city is about to fall, the local authorities are strengthening their positions. Three major tribal formations previously fighting for the opposition have gone over to their side.

Afghan Rebel Regime Has Only 'Limited' Support

BK2702091389 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1100 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Sergeyev Viktorov commentary]

[Text] According to news agency reports from Rawalpindi, the Consultative Council—Majlis-i-Shura—of the Afghan opposition distributed portfolios of the so-called interim government among the leaders of the Seven-Party Alliance through elections last Thursday. Reports from Rawalpindi say after 2 weeks of heated debate, which at times was fully out of control, the Majlis-i-Shura of the Afghan opposition was successful in setting up the so-called interim government. More than 400 members of the shura participated in the elections. The most votes—that is, 174—was secured by the leader of the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan, Sebghatullah Mujaddedi, who is considered a moderate leader. He was appointed president.

REUTER reports that the shura vote was very pleasing to those Western diplomats who support the Afghan opposition. But the fact is that after Mujaddedi, a Mr 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, who enjoys the support of Saudi Arabia, got the most votes, which surprised the Westerners. One diplomat even told REUTER that he could not believe this. How was this possible? REUTER further reports that some members of the Afghan opposition often accuse Sayyaf of doing nothing other than recruiting people for Saudi Arabia's Wahabi sect.

As decided earlier, Sayyaf will be the prime minister of the interim government. Third in line is Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi. The fourth is Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, and after him are Yunis Khalis and Sayyed Hamid Gaylani, with Burhanuddin Rabbani last. This came as a surprise for observers as well as Burhanuddin himself. A spokesman of his Jamiyat-e Eslami-e Afghanistan told AFP that they did not expect such a disappointing outcome from the elections. The spokesman said his party has sent the results to Ahmad Shah Ma'sud and Captain Ismail inside Afghanistan and is waiting for their response.

Now let us try to make an overall analysis of the outcome of the election of the interim government. We know that only the Peshawar-based Seven Party Alliance was represented. The fact is that leaders of this alliance have distributed all important posts among themselves. The Eight-Party Afghan Shi'ite alliance based in Iran has

boycotted the Shura. Other than this, not a single commander of the opposition forces was given a position in the interim government. It is, perhaps, difficult to say anything about the reaction of Ahmad Shah Ma'sud, Captain Ismail, and other opposition commanders to the shura election. However, we know that a few days back the candidate proposed by the fundamentalists to head the government was not accepted by Ahmad Shah Ma'sud. Meanwhile, it is reported that the troops of the Jamiyat-e Eslami-e Afghanistan will not like the defeat of their party leader Burhanuddin Rabbani in the elections. Moreover, this so-called government, enjoying only the support of limited quarters, has failed to propose any program. REUTER says that the balance of power between Mujaddedi as president and Sayyaf as prime minister has also not been clarified. There are many more questions that neither the shura nor the recently self-elected interim government wants to answer or is in a condition to answer. That is why one tends to agree with the view of observers that deep differences exist among the Afghan opposition leadership in spite of the shura's success in electing an interim government.

Kabul 'Calm' Despite 'Acute' Shortages
LD2402145589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando report from Kabul]

[Text] Just over a week has passed since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. However, one cannot say that in military terms the situation has worsened. Government troops control all the main regions that were also under their control on 15 February. Of course, one cannot call the situation in Afghanistan tranquil. The armed opposition, actively supported by Pakistan, is applying all efforts to seize the town of Jalalabad, or any other large provincial center, with the aim of declaring a transitional government.

As you know, so far all attempts of the Afghan opposition and its patrons to create such a government have failed. As a rule, every Consultative Council session [word indistinct] taking place in Rawalpindi ends in disorder. In this connection, it is essential to note that the overwhelming majority of so-called field commanders in Afghanistan have, on the whole, refused to take part in the council meetings.

As far as the situation in Kabul is concerned, as a whole it is calm. All enterprises, educational establishments and trade stores are working. It is true that on the faces and in the mood of the population one can sense a certain nervousness and fear. In my view, the main reasons for this are the consequences of the economic blockade of the capital, as a result of which there continues to be an acute shortage of food and prime essentials, and also gasoline and fuel oils.

The extremists continue firing rocket-propelled projectiles on the town, killing mainly civilians. What is the reaction of Kabul's population to the introduction of the state of emergency. It is difficult to give a simple answer to this question. In the last few days I have met people who are not pleased with these measures. Others think that in the situation which has evolved, it is only in this way that one can bring about order in the country and protect its territorial integrity.

Since the introduction of the state of emergency, the Defense Council has been playing the main role in the life of the country. It is effecting control over the work of state power. Certain changes have taken place in the compositon of the Council of Ministers. All of these changes are aimed at creating normal conditions for the life of the Afghan people. The first step on this road is the adoption of the decision by the Council of Ministers on introducing a rationing system for foodstuffs for Kabul's inhabitants.

The chief question worrying all Afghans is security. The introduction of the state of emergency undoubtedly promotes the maintenance of order in the town so that the majority of the population in Kabul supports these measures which, as President Najibullah said, are temporary.

Afghan Government Troops Seize Large Arms Cache
LD2402105389 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 24 TASS—Afghanistan's state security bodies on Thursday continued operations against terrorist groups in the Afghan capital. Two members of a clandestine organisation were arrested, BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

In Shawaki district, a large arms cache, which belonged to the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, was seized.

Irreconcilable opposition groups opened fire on security posts of the governmental troops and a number of populated localities in the provinces of Qandahar, Herat and Nangarhar, killing and wounding civilians and soldiers.

Afghan artillery delivered a retaliatory strike at rebles' positions in Qandahar. Seven extreminsts were killed, and three others wounded.

Eleven more rebels were killed by government troops in Ghozara District, Herat.

Clashes between rebel groups differing in their political orientation flared up anew in Laghman Province. BAKHTAR said five extremists were killed and three others wounded in those clashes in Alinghar District Thursday. The houses of several civilians were destroyed.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent four notes to the mission of UN observers in Kabul, citing new facts of Pakistan's violation of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan.

Afghanistan Not USSR's Vietnam, General Says

AU2102162989 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 17 Feb 89 p 5

[Interview with Major General Geliy Batenin, "CPSU Central Committee military expert," by NOVOSTI correspondent V. Andreyev: "The View of a Military Expert;" date, place of interview not given]

[Text] "Certainly, today we can already assess whether the intervention by Soviet troops in Afghanistan was a mistake or not," Major General Geliy Batenin, military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, said in an interview with the NOVOSTI correspondent. "Yet it must be kept in mind that in those years, which might be called years of confrontation, giving preference to strong-arm methods over political methods was the stereotypical international approach to the solution of problems. I must stress, however, that under international law we definitely did have grounds to grant military assistance to Afghanistan.

"Attempts are being made to compare Afghanistan with Vietnam. The argument goes that in both instances a superpower suffered a defeat. To formulate the question in this way is absolutely pointless, however. In Vietnam, the American troops really lost and were forced to save their skin. The Soviet units in Afghanistan fulfilled their task and left on the basis of a planned evacuation, in harmony with the timetable approved in Geneva.

"Our decision to withdraw the troops is a result of new political thinking when political dialogue, and not confrontation, has taken the lead in international relations. M. Gorbachev has discussed this conclusively enough in his addresses before the United Nations. This policy has prevailed. After their defeat in Vietnam, the Americans lost their prestige and declined in the estimation of the whole world. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has rather even increased its international authority by its voluntary departure from Afghanistan, especially in the West.

"There are no wars without defeats, yet I would like to draw attention to the following fact," Geliy Batenin continues. "One-third of our military contingent—that is, the sapper and transportation units and battalions—discharged what essentially were purely peaceful functions: building houses, hospitals, roads, and wells and transporting foodstuffs and other essentials to the population. At the same time, I am not wrong when I say that these units sustained the same losses as those that took part directly in military operations.

"As for the prospects of an internal Afghan settlement, the Afghan Government is as strong as the forces standing in opposition to it inside and outside the country. Its program of national reconciliation, which presupposes the participation by all political parties and groups in the formation of new structures of state power, represents a realistic platform for transforming the Afghan crisis into a condition of peace. The most important thing today is to ensure conditions for alleviating the state of war and to prevent the process of the formation of a new government from degenerating into a fight among alliances, which could lead to the loss of Afghanistan's territorial unity. An important role in an Afghan settlement could be played by the United Nations and by the realization of M. Gorbachev's proposals for convening an international conference on Afghanistan that would tackle the problems of a cease-fire and a moratorium on arms deliveries to all warring parties in Afghanistan."

Soviet Ships Continue Duty in Persian Gulf

PM2402143389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[Captain 1st Rank V. Zelenkov report under general rubric "Exponents of Military Valor": "Persian Gulf"]

[Text] At the moment the following ships are ensuring the safety of Soviet peaceful shipping in the Persian Gulf zone—the large ASW ship "Admiral Zakharov," the depot ship "I. Kolyshkin," and the seagoing minesweepers "Rear-Admiral Pershin," "Kharkovskiy Komsomolets," and "Vice-Admiral Zhukov."

The military-political situation here remains complex. The weather during the winter period is frequently stormy, hydrometeorological conditions change quickly, and this enhances the danger posed by mines. Mines can drift into busy sea lanes. In order to detect such mines, special skill is required of the minesweeper crews.

On the eve of the holiday the best results in service were achieved by the large ASW ship "Admiral Zakharov" and the seagoing minesweeper "Kharkovskiy Komsomolets." In 1989 alone "Admiral Zakharov," for instance, conducted six 15-ship convoys. It worthily represented the USSR Navy during a duty call in Abu Dhabi. Incidentally, during this port call an unusual volleyball match took place. The crew of our large ASW ship measured its strength against a British guided missile frigate crew. The Soviet sailors won 3 to 0.

At the moment, the large ASW ship "Admiral Zakharov" continues its duty in the Persian Gulf. The ship's commander has named Captain-Lieutenant A. Marchenko, commander of a navigation combat unit, among those who have excelled. His subunit has earned the title "excellent." For Aleksandr this is already the second ship he has taken to the Persian Gulf within a relatively short period. The ship's command has recommended Capt-Lt Marchenko for admission to the Naval Academy.

USSR, Kuwait Sign Oil Cooperation Protocol

LD1802003789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Kuwait, 17 Feb (TASS)—A protocol on economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Kuwait in the oil industry was signed Thursday in the Kuwaiti capital. The document resulted from the talks held here by a Soviet delegation led by Vasiliy Dinkov, USSR minister of the petroleum industry. Kuwait's delegation at the talks was headed by Oil Minister Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah al-Adbi al-Sabah.

The document provides for the setting up of joint enterprises to develop oil installations on the territory of the USSR. Soviet organizations will first hand over to their Kuwaiti colleagues proposals regarding the timetable and cost of carrying out a detailed geological study, estimating reserves, conducting laboratory research, calculating the indicators of possible methods for exploiting the oilfields, and their economic analysis.

The two sides confirmed their interest in exchanging experience and achievements in oil field exploitation, as well as the need to organize for this purpose regular meetings of experts from the appropriate organizations of the two countries.

During the visit, the Soviet delegation was received by the amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, and by Prime Minister and Crown Prince Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah.

West Europe

Supreme Soviet Presidium Pardons FRG Prisoner

LD2402163189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1522 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 24 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chumakov reports:

Fifty-year-old FRG citizen Helga Burghardt-Brzhezinski, who since last June has been serving a sentence imposed by Leningrad City Court, which sentenced her to 5 years for smuggling, considers that today "is the most wonderful day of my life." A few hours ago she was informed that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, proceeding from principles of humanity, had made the decision to pardon her. [passage omitted]

Helga Burghardt-Brzhezinski has been handed over to representatives of the FRG consulate-general in Leningrad, and in the very near future will be sent home.

Ambassador to UK Discusses Afghanistan

LD2402162989 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] London February 24 TASS—There is now a unique opportunity for a political settlement in Afghanistan, Leonid Zamyatin, USSR ambassador to Great Britain, told a news conference here.

"The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has confirmed that the actions of the Soviet leadership do not differ from its words", he said. "The Soviet Union has shown its ability and readiness stringently to observe the letter and the spirit of the Geneva Accords, to promote a long-term political settlement in Afghanistan."

It was noted that the present Afghan government realistically appraises the situation and is doing everything to achieve an effective settlement, right up to giving up the monopoly on power and creating a transitional government which would represent all sections of the Afghan society. This is not the sign of weakness for the Najibullah government has everything to govern the country. This is the sign of a responsible approach to the problem, the manifestation of the resolve to decide it on a fair, long-term basis of national reconciliation.

Deplorably, this settlement is opposed by influential forces, above all in the USA and in Pakistan, as well as by extremist opposition Afghan groups which seek to get political and other advantages from the preservation of instability in Afghanistan, Zamyatin noted. They continue banking on force and confrontation, refuse to recognise the lawful Afghan government. "An end should be put to bloodshed", the ambassador said. "The Afghan armed opposition must show a rational approach, must ponder on the destinies of its native country and the Afghan people. Life has shown that the use of force is not a way to resolve regional problems. All the problems must be resolved by Afghans themselves in a political way, at a negotiating table".

Zamyatin pointed to the unconstructive stand of Western countries which by their actions do not promote a long-term settlement in Afghanistan, and even aggravate the situation there. As an example he mentioned the fact that a number of Western countries recalled their diplomatic missions from Afghanistan after the Soviet troop withdrawal and that Western countries put obstacles to the delivery of food to Kabul.

Political & Social

Further Coverage of Gorbachev's Visit to Ukraine

Walkabout Outside Chernobyl

LD2502000189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 23 February, in its regular "Vremya" newscast, carries a 5-minute video report on a 23 February walkabout by Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva on the road leading to the Chernobyl AES. Television correspondent S. Slipchenko sets the scene, saying that "the road to Chernobyl is familiar to thousands of people from all republics in the country. And today people were standing right up to the guardpost where the zone begins.

Gorbachev, flanked by Raisa and Shcherbitskiy and entourage, are then shown exchanging greetings with people gathered at the roadside. Gorbachev says: "Good day. We are going to Chernobyl and Slavutich. We have stopped to say hello to you." People are shown handing bunches of flowers to Gorbachev, to which he responds by thanking the people and acknowledges greetings.

Gorbachev adds: "Congratulations on the holiday, to the menfolk, and to all of you. It's a national holiday after all. So how are you doing here, then? Everything ok?"

An unidentified man replies: "There are problems, too."

A second unidentified man adds: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, I want to tell you that we fully back your policy, the policy of the party and state. If people just stand firm at the top, we workers at the grassroots will always support you.

Gorbachev asks: "And who do you represent?" The man replies: "A cooperative."

[Gorbachev] "A cooperative? Which one?"

[Man] "An installation and fitting cooperative. We'll be doing installations, heating, and alterations in the rayon.

[Gorbachev] "So you will be turning people's pockets inside out good and proper, then?"

[Man] "Only charging state prices!"

Gorbachev then moves forward to shake the man's hand and says to the crowd: "Now there's a cooperative member for you! Just you remember, you pledged yourself before the people here! Rightly so too. These are the sort of cooperatives that are needed, giving asistance, fixing houses, and doing repairs, rendering some sort of service. In the countryside in particular there is no one even simply to move two planks or a beam for a peasant's house or repairs or anything. There is a need for lots of such services. Here cooperatives have a role, where its local people are. Things will quickly be sorted out with cooperative members in the countryside I think."

After exchanges of banter, Gorbachev asks what the cooperative is currently doing, and is informed that they are now drawing up contracts for work on private houses. An unidentified man tells Gorbachev that the kolkhozes are doing better. Gorbachev says: "There are things needing to be done on the kolkhozes too, hey? Well, in March we shall discuss how best to restructure affairs on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, so that better results are obtained both for the countryside and for the people; so that there may be more, better quality produce; and so that life in the countryside may continue to improve."

Gorbachev is about to make a further observation to the assembled kolkhoz farmers, when Raisa Gorbacheva makes an indistinct comment, pointing to some youngsters who have climbed up on a fence to get a better view of the dignitaries. Gorabchev waves cheerily and congratualtes them on finding such a good viewing point.

Gorbachev, amid much laughter says: "You know, we are going to visit Chernobyl station now, and we shall talk more there about how things are there. A great deal has been done there, all in all, to keep things in hand, and that is of interest to you, too. Reliability there is being increasingly enhanced." Gorbachev is at this point interrupted by the arrival of a small child whom Raisa Gorbacheva bends to engage in converstaion. Gorbachev is then hailed from behind by a man in the crowd, who shouts out to complain that veterans from the countryside are not accepted for treatment in the Kiev clinic, and that there is a 3-year waiting list locally. Gorbachev replies: "Well now, that will have to be looked at, because in one's own oblast—and Kiev is your oblast center—everyone should be able to get a doctor's certificate entitling him to treatment. You need a certificate." Gorbachev then asks the man's name, and resumes: "You know what, we must go now, we have to have a talk at the station. I wish you all the best!"

Visits Chernobyl AES, Meets Workers

LD2402224489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Video report by television correspondent S. Slipchenko from Chernobyl on 23 February meeting and conversations between M.S. Gorbachev and workers at Chernobyl AES—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Slipchenko] The farmers' grain will not go into this field this spring. Nature in the 30-km zone around Chernobyl is already living according to its own laws. The Chernobyl tragedy showed that strict laws exist in man's interrelations with nature too. The deeper the wound, the sharper the pain, the more strongly people have rallied and the more seriously conclusions have been drawn. The accident has become a symbol: On the

one hand, of courage and unity, and on the other, of irresponsibility. It has forced us to reconsider our plans and programs and forced us to protect the people who work with the atom. A whole set of measures ruling out a repetition of the accident has already been introduced. The people who live and work here know better than any detached observer the true state of affairs. [video: open landscape and houses as seen from a passing vehicle; a road sign indicating "Chernobyl 1" straight on, "Slavutich 57" to the left, and "Kiev 142" to the right; exterior shots of the power station]

These close-ups of the nuclear power station's central control panel have been shown by all the world's television companies as proof of the reliability of the measures which have been taken. The reactors are functioning. [video: work in progress in control room]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today looked round the turbine section of one of the generating sets. [video: Gorbachev and entourage, all in white coats, walking along corridor inside station; Gorbachev shaking hands with station employee]

[Nikovnichev] Hello, Mikhail Sergeyevich. I'm a shift leader in the turbine section. Nikovnichev is my surname, Gennadiy Antonovich. Well now, our first set is undergoing periodic servicing; repair work is being carried out. The second generating set is functioning at its rated output. There are no criticisms regarding the operation of the equipment. The equipment is functioning in a stable manner.

[Gorbachev] Have you been at this station all the time, right from the start?

[Nikovnichev] I've been working at this station since the installation work. I can remember the time when there were just bare walls. In other words, I'll have been here 14 years in May.

[Gorbachev] Tell me, has confidence in the functioning of the station, its reliability, and what has been done here already appeared among the collective?

[Nikovnichev] Yes, I think so; in my shift today—there are 23 people here today—and of the old cadres who have been working for so many years, say, there's myself—I'm the oldest—and my senior machine operator, but 90 percent of the staff are new. I can say that people settle in fairly well. In the first place, people coming here already have fairly good experience of work at their own station; they get to feel at home here fairly quickly. In general, they are gladly taking in what there is, and I believe that these people can be relied upon.

[Gorbachev] One more question. We had a plan drawn up for all nuclear power stations, for intensification from the viewpoint of safety and reliability. It included everything—the equipment, science, cadres, and so on, checks—everything. But the first stage, as Boris Yevdokimovich [Shcherbina] has reported, has been fulfilled in all stations in the industry. What did that first stage cover at your station?

[Nikovnichev] Well, the thing is, I'm not a thermal physicist; I myself am a heat and power engineer.

[Gorbachev] But all the same, you still know and observe. Not in detail, but just generally.

[Nikovnichev] As far as our turbine section is concerned, at least, all the post accident work which was carried out was directed at reliability; today it has ensured that reliability.

[Gorbachev] It's ensured it?

[Nikovnichev] Yes, it has.

[Gorbachev] And has it already been confirmed?

[Nikovnichev] It has definitely been confirmed by the functioning of the sets.

[Gorbachev] And from the point of view, all the same, the question of the automatic system and its reliability—has it been finished off?

[Nikovnichev] I believe it has, because today....

[Gorbachev interrupting] The automatic system in the second set has already been functioning, hasn't it?

[Nikovnichev] No, the second set here was working....

[Gorbachev interrupting] The first one, the first one.

[Nikovnichev] Well, the automatic system's functioning is reliable. I think that the automatic system will fulfill its tasks at the necessary moments.

[Gorbachev] But have there been any cases when the automatic system has come into operation: have there been any cases of...

[Nikovnichev, interrupting] Failure? No. The automatic system is functioning reliably. At least, checks are carried out before every start-up.

[Gorbachev] How can that automatic system block out a human error? Well, if it is not intentional?

[Nikovnichev] Well, how can I put it? At least, we....

[Gorbachev, interrupting, speaking to somebody off screen] I want (?to catch the operators out.)

[Nikovnichev] If some kind of accident situation is created, our staff are constantly on the spot. We even have situations where we do not expect the automatic

system to start up and we even try to forestall it. But, in general, it is a power engineer's rule not to interfere with the operation of the automatic system. And, as a rule, recently, especially since the accident, the automatic system has been operating reliably. It does its work and performs its job. [video: Gorbachev shakes hands with Nikovnichev before moving on]

[Slipchenko] Hundreds of thousands of parameters are controlled here. The automatic system is reliable, but the reliability of people and their responsibility are tested at nuclear power stations. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev looked round the central control panel. [video: general interior shot of power station, followed by Gorbachev and group entering control room]

[Gorbachev] Greetings, comrades! Is one set operating today?

[Unidentified control room employee] Two sets are operating.

[Gorbachev] The second and third, right?

[Employee] The second is at its rated output. A million [words indistinct]. And it is functioning [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] It is too? And what about the first set?

[Employee] I don't yet have the document from the investigation, since it's about set number two and set number one. In other words, after we get the investigation document, everything will be publicized, and the information will go to everybody, according to the set calculations, at all places of work....

[Gorbachev interrupting] And in Kiev, at first, they have again started saying that something has happened at the station. It seems that we are finding out that it refers to some electrical part, right?

[Second employee] An electrical part, but the automatic system operated perfectly normally and stopped the set without any consequences. At 0700 tomorrow, in accordance with the regulations, the set will be withdrawn for [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] In other words, the shutdown is being used for repairs?

[Second employee] We are using it for repairs, and we have our own technological peculiarities: After a shutdown, we definitely keep it back from maximum capacity for 48 hours now. Incidentally, that is a new approach to operations which we wouldn't have used before, because the causes....

[Gorbachev interrupting, to first employee] How long have you been working here at the station?

[First employee] Fifteen years.

[Gorbachev] So you're already an old hand.

[Employee] I've been in power engineering for 26 years altogether. [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] So, as for the atmosphere among the cadres and all the staff, do you feel confident?

[Employee] Where? At the station?

[Gorbachev] At the station.

[Employee] What do you mean? I've been working in power engineering for 26 years....

[Gorbachev interrupting] But that thing happened all the same.

[Employee] On the sets: the first set, the second set.

[Gorbachev] I hope that when that thing happened—even your 26 years didn't save you. You were worried?

[Employee] Of course, of course.

[Gorbachev] Bless you! The whole country and the whole world were worried, too. What about now?

[Employee] Now the situation is good, and conditions for work are normal—all the working conditions for the normal functioning of the station.

[Gorbachev] Since you have been connected with this station for all its 15 years, I'll ask you this question: From the point of view of before that tragic case of Chernobyl and now, what has been added from the point of view of reliability and safety? Do you think the measures which have been carried out here are sufficient? How do you assess them?

[Employee] I've got you. Well, measures were carried out after 26 April, and a package of technical measures aimed at increasing the safety of the station were elaborated: A package, one of the most important parameters of which is the (?steam) effect of radioactivity. That is to say, before the accident it amounted to 5 betas, and at present it is 0.9. So, what was done? In the first place, one of the very important measures is that in the active zone of the reactor we have now installed 81 additional absorbers. In addition, the apparatus is being loaded with (?enriched uranium-235 fuel by 2.4.) It used to be 2 percent. Reconstruction of the actual absorption rods has been introduced. That is, all the absorption rods have been (?lengthened by one link each).

[Gorbachev] That also extends their capability?

[Raisa Gorbacheva] How long does your working day last?

[Employee] Eight hours.

[Raisa] Eight hours. And what about days off?

[Employee] The system is like this. The work cycle begins, from 1600 to 2400 hours for 2 days. The following day is a day off, and we go to work in the night, from 0000 hours to 0800, again for 2 days.

[Second employee] A 36-hour working week.

[Gorbachev] Tell me, since the accident, when the generating sets resumed operations, has there been a switching-off of the reactors? Have there been such situations now?

[First employee] Purely on the apparatus, there haven't been any shutdowns.

[Gorbachev] There haven't?

[Employee] No, there haven't.

[Gorbachev] Goodbye.

Talks of 'Accident' With Residents

LD2402233189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 23 February, in its "Vremya" program, broadcasts a recorded video report of Gorbachev's visit to the Chernobyl AES on 23 February. The video shows Gorbachev and his party moving away from a building toward a group of people. He exchanges greetings with them and invites questions.

An unidentified man states his concerns about the medical problems and complications caused by the accident at the Chernobyl AES. Gorbachev replies: "I have been informed about that. And we recently heard at the Politburo its review of the issue of the consequences and how the measures are being carried out. And there, of course, first and foremost was the question of how are those people who went through that—what state are they in—how are they being provided for in medical terms, what monitoring is there? And we were informed that indeed many had already gone off the list—so to speak—gone in the sense that there is no reason to keep them on it. Although they remain on the books, there is no longer any necessity for it. Others are still there—moreover not only specialists, but the populace and so forth. As far as you are concerned, a special institute has now been set up now for the whole branch, the medical base in Kiev. So what is it you want; you want it to come here, or what?"

The man replies: "No. We want it to operate, but we are not satisfied with its work so far."

Gorbachev turns away from the man and says: "Next question".

Another man says: "There are views being expressed—views which are not competent—that atomic energy should be closed down. That is that people, without weighing up all the aspects of the problems, do not understand that without a good energy supply for the country we shall neither help the ecology nor solve all our various urgent social problems. The thing is that the press should help us in this." Another man in the crowd joins in and supports the speaker.

Gorbachev replies: "Yevgeniy Pavlovich, in my view, Academician Velikhov is a man whom you know and whom I believe. He has participated in all the...in the drawing up of all the decisions which we have taken in connection not only with Chernobyl, but also on the basis of the conclusions which are emerging. And he can say that we have a responsible attitude to this matter. We...er, you must understand that speaking in general for all of us psychologically, for the whole of society, for the whole world, the Chernobyl misfortune is a serious business. Nothing must be simplified. But the conclusions to be drawn from it must be scientific, on the basis of knowledge, firm [word indistinct] the implementation of those conclusions maintained the country's energy supply for us, but the main thing—I would put in first place—is safety, to ensure that we [words indistinct] this is excluded. I think that we are taking such an approach, and we are relying on what may be confirmed."

Several people speak at once.

Gorbachev resumes: "I want to say that you must probably, to some extent, understand the press—to some extent. Don't smile, friends!" There is laughter and indistinct interjections.

Gorbachev smiles and continues:

"Public opinion has made us weigh up all questions very seriously: designs, safety, reliability, location of stations, everything, everything. And in that sense, I view public opinion—relying on what happened—as entirely positive, because it is all necessary both for those who work and for those who live in this or that area. We cannot do it here. You agree that—I agree that—it is not a question of holding meetings, it is a most important matter. But let's not ignore concerned people when they have questions, the more so when a person is not competent. Then he is especially frightened of being cornered; he simply steps out and makes declarations. And it is the task of all responsible people, and especially in this case nothing can replace (?professional) science for us."

A general conversation briefly ensues, then Gorbachev says: "Yevgeniy Pavlovich, does the press not give you, as an academician, the chance to speak on this question?"

After some talk, Velikhov says: "Of course, there are some difficulties". He goes on to speak about the need to educate public opinion on the facts.

Gorbachev then says: "Well, he [Velikhov] can confirm that we regularly are briefed on all these matters, in the government and the Politburo, first and foremost, everything concerning you and your collective and what you have been through, and in principle all (?these matters). The stations exist; we have to deal with them and properly. So there are stages: The first stage has already passed in all regards, as far as I understand. The ministers—Comrade Lukonin is here, he can confirm that, and Comrade Shcherbina, Boris Yevdokimovich, here, he is still chairman of the commission on all these matters—they will evidently confirm in greater detail than I can. Nevertheless, we are following things. And their report boils down to this, namely that the first stage is stepping up safety has been carried out at all stations. The second stage is now underway, and this is linked both with developing new...[changes thought—fbis] starting with going for new reactors and new systems, which should—as I understand it—enhance safety even further in all this. So all these issues are thus being resolved, because even those stations which already exist must be maintained in such a way as to ensure that nothing of the like should happen again, nothing like it. As for the future, I think the answer should be well thought through. In the world it boils down to the fact that without atomic power engineering we are unlikely to manage to cope with all...[changes thought] but the proportions, the correlations, of all this must be realistically determined and must be set against other forms of stations and the ecological consequences. But nevertheless, nuclear power engineering is a serious matter and must be approached very seriously indeed. I wish you success and good health!"

Gorbachev and his party are then shown descending stairs in front of the station and driving off in limousines.

Visits Slavutich Town, Meets Workers

LD2502181189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Video report from Slavutich by television correspondent Sergey Slipchenko on 23 February visit to the town by Mikhail Gorbachev, including conversation between between Gorbachev and unidentified workers building new housing; Gorbachev accompanied by Raisa Gorbacheva and Vladimir Shcherbitskiy—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Slipchenko] When you drive into Slavutich on the right you can see the houses built by Ukrainian builders. And these are Estonian cottages. All the materials, the structure, were all delivered here from Estonia, and the builders also brought all of the equipment with them. The plan of this town is similar to a map of the European part of the USSR. Here there is a piece of the Baltic states, the Transcaucasas, Belorussia, and there are also Tula, Belgorod, and Leningrad quarters. Towns have never grown so quickly before on our soil. The decision to build Slavutich was adopted in October 1986 and today there are already 11,000 residents here. The town is being built and will continue to grow. The Rodnichek nursery, the Malysh department store, and the Marite cafe in the Latvian quarter, were opened the other day. [video: shots taken of individual houses and cottages from moving car, plan of Slavutich, lorries carrying building materials, shops and housing being built. Film then cuts to Gorbachev with Shcherbitskiy by his side coming up to meet a group of people, mainly male workers]

[Gorbachev] What's being built here is fine and attractive. I look and see that the international spirit has been put into practice here. The Baltic republics are here, the Trancaucasians, the Russians, and the Ukrainians. Generally from the outside you can see that even the tall buildings have been built with loving care. I do not know what the quality is like inside. You cannot see that straight away, but the general impression as we drove past and saw them—we felt drawn to such a house.

[Young woman comes forward and presents Gorbachev with flowers] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we cordially welcome you to our town. We are very pleased you (?are having a look around) and we hope that (?you will like) our beautiful and beloved town.

[Builder] On behalf of the multinational detachment of Soviet builders that have built the town of Slavutich in a short space of time we welcome you on your arrival here and we believe that from this moment a second, or a higher, round in restructuring will begin. This will be a great impetus. (?A stimulus for us.)

[Gorbachev] I know, and just hearing these words of welcome from you I want to say how good it is when there is no gap between words and deeds.

[Builder] We try.

[Gorbachev] What a difficult task it was, and see how the country rallied round here, everyone, everyone together helped to tackle a difficult situation. And the main thing is the people, the people have returned, and how they have returned indeed. I feel simply drawn to the town.

[Builder] But you've come, you wanted to come.

[Gorbachev] I mean it differently—I'd like to live here for a time.

[Builder] Well, stay for a couple of days then.

[Gorbachev] What regions these are!

[Builder] Rich regions.

[Unidentified voice] And beautiful.

[Gorbachev] What is it?

[Builder] So much woodland has been destroyed. One would like, you know, to build in a vacant plot. When the town is erected in the middle of a field, in wasteland, it is accepted better than if we kill nature and build. Although we try to preserve the forest and everything else. We preserve what we can. Of course we would like to build in a place where it would be possible to combine both nature and building.

[Shcherbitskiy] (?Many compensations can be made).

[Gorbachev] The situation here probably dictated things.

[Builder] Yes, the situation. We try to compensate; we want to wherever we can....

[Gorbachev] You know that two principalities clashed—Kiev with Chernigov! [laughter]

[Builder] Yes, with Chernigov. But they've come to terms now, haven't they!

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes. They agreed among themselves. [laughter]

[Builder] Since we builders from the Transcaucasus, the Baltic republics, and the Ukraine all came to terms, resolved all matters in an instant, and helped each other, then I think two princes at the top can come to terms! The principalities did exist after all.

[Gorbachev] Most difficult of all is dealing with the princes! Well, thank you, I can see that [words indistinct]. They left one thing—everything—their lives were broken in two. This is a painful and serious matter. They are already saying that a fight is going on for Slavutich.

[Builder] There are many people who want to come here and live. Not all are suitable in terms of their, well, their professional skills. But many people would like to come. [Voice] We built it in 2 years, Mikhail Sergeyevich. Eight union republics. We are living on friendly terms.

[Gorbachev] Always when I see—and it turned out that I lived in the Trancaucasus from my youth—I observed things from life, in the flesh, in the flesh, you understand; everything was mixed in the northern Caucasus. There are 35 nationalities and ethnic groups living in Dagestan alone. Everything is mixed in the northern Caucasus. People lived for centuries in this environment of nationalities. You see, it is strange for me when suddenly someone starts to raise the issue artificially and starts to pursue a line of dividing people; it goes against the grain. I put it like this at one session. Comrades, we can't drive a plow through our country, through families, peoples, traditions, through people's hearts, souls, and memories; can we really behave like that? This is a feature of our country. It is fortunate that we are and should remain brothers!

[Builder] This has probably been displayed to the full in Slavutich.

[Gorbachev] That is why I decided to say this here.

[Builder] All nationalities.

[Gorbachev] That's good.

[Builder] And no one has ever reproached anyone for anything or refused help.

[Gorbachev] This does not remove the fact problems have accumulated, including from the point of view of the development of each people, each republic, even a small ethnic group, you understand. Raisa Maksimovna and I, she is a real witness, when suddenly at a meeting of writers in Krasnoyarsk one writer made a speech on behalf of the northern peoples and said: Mikhail Sergeyevich, how can it be, take a look at what is happening on Krasnoyarsk soil. They are forgetting about us minorities, minority peoples. This is true; how can they? Alongside Norilsk some people—natives—are living in poverty, but Norilsk produces an annual profit of R1.071 billion. And 6,000 people do not have adequate amenities. This is disgraceful, of course it is.

All in all, the general state of each people, of each person, wherever he is....[Gorbachev changes thought] I am convinced of this, this is the whole of my personal life experience, not to mention the experience of the country. If Lenin had not devoted such attention to the nationalities' issue during the formation of our federation, we would not be the country we now are. Therefore we have to remove what has accumulated over this period in order once again to develop the potential of friendship and cooperation among people. Generally people, I am sure, the working people always understand things simply.

In Azerbaijan and Armenia, a problem arose around Nagorno-Karabakh, and it has been revived. It has existed for a long time and it all still stands. But the people there live together in families, they all intermingle, just like in Georgia. Sometimes I talk to them—I met a group of deputies amongst others. I came out after the meeting, they are standing round—workers, peasants, and deputies.

[Voice] All together?

[Gorbachev] Yes: Mikhail Sergeyevich, help us for goodness sake. We are living, we are workers toiling away. Stop these our ringleadeers, as you put it simply. Help us, do! There is a land called Nagorno-Karabakh. The Azeribaijanis try to prove that the flower of their intelligentsia has its roots here. The Armenians try to prove this same point with no less success and no fewer arguments. What does this indicate? It is not a question of one side or the other being wrong, or imputations being made. No, that's how it was. Two peoples lived there shoulder

to shoulder. There was all this, maybe. But they are both from there; their roots are there. We have to find a way for these two peoples to live there and to feel brotherhood.

[Raisa] Mikhail Sergeyevich, but all of Rus is from Kiev—Rus, Russia, has its roots in Kiev.

[Gorbachev] Vladimir Vasilyevich [Shcherbitskiy] in the car—he was just an eyewitness. He found himself in a conversation. [sentence as heard] There was the deceased Nikolay Mikhaylovich Borisenko and other comrades from other republics. This conversation started. First of all they stated talking about how things were going where, who was producing more and who less, and who was consuming more and who less. Then things changed. They started having a go at each other; that's how things are where you live, and this is how things are where we live. [passage indistinct] And then it was almost as if relations between Russia and the Ukraine had to be straightened out!

[Voice] Them and us.

[Gorbachev] Yes, them and us.

Comrades, when I went to university and started to study the history of the state and the law of our state, you know what we began with—with Kiev-an Rus. Think about the combination: Kiev-an Rus. We should not forget this.

[Man] Contacts are a great thing....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I have stood by one thing and will continue to do so. I am deeply convinced that we are offering the right thing—cooperation, fraternity, and respectfulness—without allowing either nationalism, or chauvinism, or anything else.

[Man] There is no other way—no other way.

[Gorbachev] And looking at all of you, and looking at the results of your work, what can I say. I welcome it, here it is, here it is, the joining together of efforts.

[Man] I am a representative of Georgia among the union republics in the building work. The fact that we have built this quantity of housing in the space of 2 years is not the only thing that has been done. We have left a piece of our heart here. Something Georgian for the Georgians, something Armenian for the Armenians, something Estonian for the Estonians. So I think that this is a school of our friendship and internationalism.

[Gorbachev] I think that (?it will remain) with everyone.

[Man] It is developing and is beginning from this year probably.

[Second man] All these internationalists should be sent to Armenia. [laughter]

[First man] Boris Yevdokimovich [Shcherbina] taught us to build internationalism to schedule. We will go to work in Armenia too, if necessary.

[Third man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, they have even brought their children from an early age to teach them to live in such a multinational environment.

[First man] My wife is here and my child is here.

[Gorbachev] I am sure that life is stronger than anything else. It will overcome all these prophets who urge people on, egg them on, and even stir them up against others sometimes. I think that life will conquer, and the truth will have its way. The truth is that everyone, the smallest and the largest people, have a legitimate right. They live in this world, on this earth. They have the same rights and they should understand. Just because a nationality is small in number, does that mean that it has to be removed from the face of the Earth? Doesn't a large nationality have the right to have its say, and remind others about itself? People sometimes say, what about the Russian Federation? There are problems in the Russian Federation, too. Bear that in mind. Take the problem of the nonchernozem zone in the Russian Federation, I have talked about it more than once. It is a problem too. There are problems everywhere. There are also problems in the Ukraine. They have to be dealt with well so that everyone feels good about it.

This a good place for this. I almost gave a whole Georgian toast for friendship between peoples. [laughter] That was our trouble—we would often reduce talk about friendship between peoples to toasts!

[Raisa] That is not trouble, that is life. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] You need toasts too! Thank you for your work, we wish you success.

[Male voices] Good health to you Mikhail Sergeyevich. All the best.

[Gorbachev] We will have another talk.

Conversation at Slavutich Gorispolkom

LD2502113589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Video report on 23 February meeting and conversations between CPSU General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and Slavutich gorispolkom—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Gorbachev] [video shows Gorbachev standing to address those gathered] Much here is connected with those events experienced by the country and indeed, why say the country, comrades, the world. And that's what

has brought us here. Of course, a lot has been done and the main things have been done to get the situation under control. Great efforts were demanded in general and I will even say that it was hard for a country like ours to get such a situation under control quickly. I don't think we've solved everything yet, especially concerning the lessons that stem from this, or implemented those measures mapped out in the decisions of the Central Committee and the government. Here, as they say, there remains much serious work to be done. There. And this is something I'd like to ask, for the director of the station to say a little about the situation. You know, 5 to 7 minutes, put it into words, without reflections, just the essentials. What worries you at the moment? What needs to...[Gorbachev changes thought] What have we not dealt with sufficiently? What organizational questions do you have? Because we keep on coming back to this, the government, the Politburo, not to mention Boris Yevdokimovich and his commission.

[Shcherbitskiy, interrupting] (?They) recently discussed [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Only just recently. However, since we're here, I'd like to hear from you. I would then like to ask Boris Yevdokimovich to say a couple of words, so to speak, and Yevgeniy Pavlovich [Velikhov] as well, Yevgeniy Pavlovich. We should also have the enlightened word of the Academy of Sciences but keeping it to a limit of 5 to 7 minutes each, no more. If there are questions, no doubt we will ask them and Comrades Izreal and Lukonin are here. That's already another matter. Let's start with you, please.

[M.P. Umanets, director of Chernobyl AES, identified by caption] Believe me when I say that we deeply appreciate the attention that has been shown and is being shown today at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Station and everyone connected with it.

[Gorbachev] You know, the whole country is watching and not only the country to see how all this is being brought to a conclusion.

[Umanets] Secondly, on behalf of the collective and on behalf of atomic power as a whole, and at the moment we are in close communication in a single ministry, I'd like to provide assurances that today at the RBMK [high-power pressure-tube reactor] and VVR's [water-moderated, water-colled reactors], priority measures have been established to ensure that a repeat of Chernobyl-86 is impossible, and fairly intensive work is under way on the second stage, which will be completed within the established deadlines. The first problem is the fate of atomic power and we would like to ask just one thing: to be granted parity in the press so that in a qualified manner, we may both draw public attention to and defend our view on the need to develop nuclear power in the Soviet Union as an integral part of overall power, since we believe that for the future, nuclear power remains the most promising form of power in the Soviet Union. I will also take upon myself the temerity to claim that it is also the most ecological form of power to date. Secondly, we are concerned for the fate of the atomic power station itself. We see this as maintaining the safe use of the three functioning units and, in the future, changing them for new-generation units. I think that here we will have the right to debate two trends, since in our view, both the VVR's and the pressure-tube trend are not hopeless and the latest designs being drafted deserve to be implemented and to be considered long-term. The third matter, and you have heard this, is that we believe that medical services for our staff in the zone is insufficient and what is being planned here in Slavutich—our medical unit—this is now under construction, but equipping it with our specific instruments for determining the effects of the aftermath of the accident on the population still remains to be done. Unfortunately, these items are not produced here and we would like to obtain specific items abroad. But the rest of the equipment can be Soviet made.

[Academician Velikhov, identified by caption] First of all, an analysis of the energy program which is now prepared takes account of everything, the fact that we have organic fuel, and the possibilities that exist for energy saving, perhaps not yet fully applied, and nontraditional sources, and the long-term future. But, all the same, it is clearly apparent from it that nuclear power generation is a key factor for us. Without nuclear energy, we will not solve our problems, the energy problem as a whole, or our short-term problem, the problem of an adequate supply of electricity.

[Gorbachev] Yevgeniy Pavlovich, we all have a question for you. You exchange opinions and have constant active links with all major scientists in the world, and views with the world scientific community—that is the most authoritative part of our civilization. What is their view on the prospects of power generation, of nuclear power generation?

[Velikhov] Quite recently I took part in a discussion at a Japanese nuclear forum with Japanese scientists, and I also meet with U.S. and European scientists, and I would like to say that they all share the same view that nuclear power generation is, firstly, essential; and at the same time, it is acceptable for the development of mankind (?in the coming years). For this, our primary task is of course to resolve the question of the complete safety of nuclear power generation. Safety can be assured in two ways: on the one hand, that the rules are adhered to, (?something no one can reckon on), and this has to be solved in a technical way. And therefore, step by step, the initial measures about which we have already spoken, then projects, in two stages, 1988 and 1992, we are reckoning, will take us to reactors which will be acceptable to society, the country, and the world as a whole.

[Gorbachev] Tell me, will confidence be raised by a factor of one, or what?

[Velikhov] We would like it to be by a factor of three.

[Gorbachev] A factor of three.

[Velikhov] Yes, so that, as one might say, the social risk should be negligible. The point is that nuclear power generation, from the point of view of the protection of the environment, in the influence it has on it, is the cleanest of all.

[Gorbachev] But we have to exclude the possibility of things like this, that's the main thing.

[Velikhov] Yes, eliminate a large social risk, even if it is a highly improbable event. This is the main task we are setting ourselves. We are solving it by altering all of the internal structure of the reactor so as to bring in a number of additional means of protection, above all very reliable ones, and at the same time by fitting additional barriers even against the highly improbable event of something still happening.

[Gorbachev] Do you consider that the work we are doing now on these matters is thorough enough, for the long term, for going over to new equipment, to new systems, which would give us everything about which you have been speaking?

[Velikhov] I think that we are now along the right lines in all this, we have scientific collectives working on it, and technical collectives, and industry, but certainly we still have to take certain steps to intensify this work. And there is one more thing to which I would like to draw attention. Society has to learn that we must live with nuclear power generation. We are iving with it today, and we will have to do so in the future. Therefore it is necessary that the best scientific and technical forces should be brought into this, so that it should be a matter of prestige, and we ought to concentrate our efforts on this, which is a very important aspect.

[Gorbachev] So we are all hostages of yours, really, because on the one hand, the energy base is a question for every country, it is fundamental; today if the power is switched off somewhere, some generator or other, the effects are felt at once, the losses of power, so we have to be able to rely on it. But on the other hand, it must be the optimum variants which are found for solving these problems. We, of course, can only rely on science.

[Velikhov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have to solve the problems of today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow. For the day after tomorrow, we see new types of reactors, nuclear reactors....

[Gorbachev] But today? [words indistinct]

[Velikhov] And today's problems we are solving with these measures, and new projects.

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Velikhov] From the point of view of the fourth unit—I'd like to make it clear—we are making observations all the time, there are people working on that all the time now, from the Atomic Energy Institute. We have now made over 40 borings, we have put sensors on top of and inside the reactor, we are confident that there can be no chain reaction there of any kind, we know—we have not yet found out everything to the very end nor do we know where exactly everything is, so to speak, but....

[Gorbachev] But the answer to this main question?

[Velikhov] Our answer to the main question is quite unambiguous. And now we just have to prepare for the future fate of the fourth unit. For this purpose, we are studying the location of all the fuel and the state of the construction work. That's the main job now.

[Gorbachev] Yes. Yes. Does the commission operate on a regular basis?

[Shcherbina] Yes. We met yesterday and, as it happens, have been considering all the questions relating to the fourth unit, the report of the mission from the Kurchatov Institute, and consideration has been given to matters connected with the construction and task fulfillments for this year and next year, and the problems we will have to solve after that, in two directions, primarily, ensuring technical reliability and safety, and secondly, to solve the cadre problem for the Chernobyl AES and this is a very complex problem. Well, I won't go into all the ramifications of that. Then there is the transition to the permanent system, the normal system of operation, that is, giving up the expedition shift method [ekspeditsionno- vakhtovyy metod], and the need somehow to act correctly toward those people who have devoted a very great amount of time and energy—we thank them all, that they have served atomic power generation so devotedly, but these people's time is running out, so we have to solve the problem of recruiting young people. But young people require attention, we have to train them, we have to prepare qualified replacements, so as not to permit, under any circumstances, those failures and breaches of the rules which occasioned the disaster which harmed us all, but most of all which did a disservice to atomic power generation itself. We will still be paying the price of Chernobyl for a long time yet, correcting matters so that atomic power generation can take its proper place, the place of one of the most important tendencies in scientific and technical progress, a priority place, and it should be possible to solve problems connected with ecology at the same time. It is a question of the place of this industry, this tendency. I say with total conviction that this is a problem of restructuring too.

[Gorbachev] Boris Yevdokimovich, is anything necessary to coordinate everything that is happening here? Or is it sufficient?

[Shcherbina] Nothing, we don't need anything more.

[Gorbachev] The commission is coping, working from Moscow?

[Shcherbina] Well, well, it's difficult for me to answer these questions. [words indistinct] (?Vladimir Vasilyevich), a town, I make so bold as to assert, unprecedented here in the Soviet Union is being built in such a short time, and with such calculations, to such standards.

[Gorbachev] And high quality too, eh?

[Shcherbina]...to such a level. There have occurred instances, we know about them, where houses have just stood there during the winter. No one checked them out. The temperature was around 60 or 70, the linoleum may have gone, or perhaps a tile, but that was where people hadn't move in. Where they moved in, it's ok. So I say plainly, under the pressure of the Ukrainian organizations, we have reconsidered this, and for this year, we shall move in 100,000 more than we had planned. In all the parameters connected with housing standards, they are at the level of the year 2000, 20 meters per inhabitant. Hospitals, schools—you saw when we stopped.

[Gorbachev] But they say they don't have all these social amenities.

[Shcherbina] No, but....

[Gorbachev] So it isn't lagging behind? What about the gorkom secretary?

[Shcherbina] He'll know full well.

[Gorbachev] Is it lagging behind?

[Gorkom Secretary Tarasov] I could wish it were better, of course.

[Gorbachev] The social amenities are lagging behind the housing?

[Tarasov] Yes, they are.

[Gorbachev] They are.

[Shcherbina] Well, I can tell you this. There's no problem with schools, no problem with kindergartens, there's been some delay with shops, a supermarket is just opening, a restaurant is completed but not yet open for business, the bakery's already a going concern, the first bread has been baked—but there has been some delay with the hospital complex. But when we have it ready—and starting in the first quarter, in March or April sometime, we shall start admitting people to the wards—it will be somewhat bigger than planned. So I can say that in this respect, as far as processing is concerned, everything has been thought through. Mikhail Sergeyevich another thing I want to say: the Baltic republics, the Transcaucasus republics, the Russian, the Ukrainian organizations, this was a most interesting competition, without slogans, without appeals, but everyone wanted to do their best. And you know what was the most interesting thing, there was hardly a single month in which we failed to meet the volume of work. If this happened it was due to the exacting standards for acceptance, but I should like to say that the comrades who spoke here were correct, people pulled together. The work was interesting, and the competition to do the best for Chernobyl will stay in the memories of those who suffered and of those....

[Gorbachev] So the commission is keeping an eye on that part of the solution?

[Shcherbina] On a regular basis.

[Gorbachev] Because I have received information, since I've been here, during this visit, that someone suddenly started to threaten to take money out of here.

[Shcherbina] No!

[Gorbachev] No?

[Shcherbina] Mikhail Sergeyevich, yesterday at the commission we looked into this.

[Gorbachev] Ok, so the rumors have not been confirmed! All right. Thanks. The last speech will be by Yuriy Antonovich Izrael, from the point of view of the situation.

[Izrael] We chose a site that woud be completely safe for the health of the population. We settled on such a site, specifically in the region of Nedanchichi settlement, and the builders have worked from Nedanchichi and the town has grown in this direction. In the town now, thanks to the fact that very considerable measures have been taken, the level of radiation here in Slavutich is 0.2 to 0.3 milliroentgens per hour, that is to say exactly the same level as in the city of Kiev. Oh, just a minute, in the town itself, that's what it is—0.02, I'm sorry, I said 0.2, please excuse me: 0.02 to 0.03, I repeat, just the same as in the city of Kiev, 0.02, 0.03. As for the surrounding forests, they are somewhat more contaminated. It does not represent any danger for human beings, one can go for walks in these woods with no limitation whatsoever, you can collect berries as long as you like. As for mushrooms, I can tell you there are different kinds of mushrooms. For instance, there are flat cap and coral milky cap mushrooms which always pick up pollution, everywhere, all kinds of pollution, so of course they pick it up here too. But the white mushroom picks up no more than a tenth, even as little as a fifteenth, as much as those mushrooms do. The radiation in mushrooms is roughly 10 times that in milk, but I don't think anyone consumes as much mushrooms as milk. So the danger, everything I've said, Mikhail Sergeyevich, is below the permissible norm. I'm telling you what the situation is in the vicinity, in the forest. Besides this, special measures are now being taken in the vicinity of the town, you know they

have cut down some forest here—there were two sites—this is being put in order and the level is also being brought down to—to avoid mistakes I'll state it again—0.02, 0.03.

[Gorbachev] The next question. The 30-km zone. Some people are asking, is it still forbidden to return there?

[Izrael] Yes, we studied this question specially. The 30-km zone was evacuated not because it was all polluted, but because it was necessary to safeguard the population just in case, everywhere that current was swirling around, that radioactivity, and the southern part, the south-eastern part, the south-western part of the 30-km zone is virtually unpolluted. About 20 settlements, I shan't name them all now, I can't remember them all, but in the Belorussian part, we just passed through the Gden settlement, where 1,000 people used to live. You could put people back there this very day. The radiation there is very low. For radiation level, there are about 15 villages which could be reinhabited within the 30-km zone. It has been stated here several times by comrades, quite correctly, by Yevgeniy Pavlovich and Boris Yevdokimovich, that atomic power generation is better ecologically. That requires a couple of minutes of explanation. The question is being very seriously raised now of changes in the climate. Scientists are writing about this, and this has become the opinion not just of isolated scientists, but as Yevgeniy Pavlovich was saying, the opinion of the whole scientific community of the planet. The more rapid change in the climate is due to the greenhouse effect, where organic fuel is burnt. And it should be said that the public is now raising the question of reducing the utilization of organic fuel. This clearly leaves mankind with two routes: atomic and hydro-electric power generation, and the nontraditional sources, wind energy, solar energy, which unfortunately cannot replace large-scale atomic and hydro-electric power generation. Therefore, of course we must work very seriously on this, although of course we are not proposing giving up organic power generation today but this has to be combined, and atomic power generation undoubtedly has great prospects.

[Gorbachev, turning to Masol, chairman of Ukrainian Council of Ministers] Vitaliy Andreyevich, what do you think is not being done that should be done by the all-union authorities?

[Masol] Over the whole range of questions connected with the liquidation of the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, with improving safety measures, to prevent such cases happening again, the measures which have been taken and are being taken now, and are envisaged, I think they are quite satisfactory.

[Gorbachev] Let's come to an end. I would like to end with this wish, in general. Let us ensure, at the level of the Central Committee and the government, and at the level of the union authorities, connected with various aspects, beginning with the academies, I'll begin there, and including all the authorities for nuclear power engineering, environmental control, and everything connected with this, the building organizations, that we act in such a way that the plan of action, of specific measures, in volume, in time scale, this whole list of things, that they are all fulfilled. And no one has the right to put in doubt, at any level, the decisions adopted, or to revise them, make alterations. Only when it is brought about by the most urgent necessity should something be brought to the government and the Central Committee, only in such a case. No one else can do it. So we all have to carry it out, and where appropriate, check on it.

And here I place hopes in the joint work of the Politburo Commission, which must play the main part, but of course also in the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and Grigoriy Ivanovich, the oblast organization, which is located here. Therefore we wil act on the basis of those decisions which we have adopted. We will keep coming back to it, and if the need arises we shall take further decisions, and most importantly we will regularly, at the level of the government and even the Politburo, continue to keep all this work in our field of vision.

Further, we are of course very interested, Yevgeniy Pavlovich, in ensuring that our science and technology should successfully resolve those problems set out in the documents. Therefore, I know there is lagging behind in some respects. So it is necessary that these problems should receive the necessary backing at the academy, and where necessary, proposals should be made via the government, where support is needed.

And thirdly, of course, comrades, the problem, the main one, remains. Chernobyl happened. Its consequences are not negligible. We are talking about these various measures, but there has been from the first day, and still is, the problem of people and their health. Firstly, we must fully implement everything which has been noted about taking care of those people who were here, who received radiation, who suffered diseases. Attention to this must not slacken. We must not take the view, we're over the worst of it, now we can ease up. No. These people must have attention and support. The necessary decisions for this exist, everyone just has to continue with this approach.

Further. We must indeed help the relevant authorities to solve the cadre problem properly, because this is an important question. I think it is highly necessary to make progress on the question of creating a base for the training of cadres. I have in mind particularly simulators. Probably two will not be enough, Boris Yevdokimovich. So this problem must be solved. And I want to add that one of the main lessons in the approach to the development of nuclear power generation will be to take decisions about the existing, and where necessary futher nuclear power generation, the need to develop it further, being strictly guided by scientific data, which must hold the answers to all the questions: technical, reliable safety,

ecology, social consequences, and so on. And this means that everything must be thoroughly worked out, all the points about location, construction—beginning at the planning stage of course.

So that's how we will act. And what else? I considered it my duty to come here, and I am pleased that these discussions have taken place here, useful and necessary ones. I wish successful work to all the comrades who are working here in nuclear power generation and construction, and I want to say today that what you are doing here can be considered a very big thing, and you are approaching it responsibly and this level of responsibility must be maintained, so that people don't start getting complacent again, comrades! You have to be very responsible. Well, all the best.

Attends Concert in Kiev 23 Feb

LD2402230689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1920 GMT on 24 February broadcasts a concert that took place at the Ukraina palace in Kiev on 23 February. The video shows CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa entering the hall accompanied by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The concert ends at 2045 GMT. Gorbachev is shown applauding from a seat near the front. Shcherbitskiy is on his left and Raisa is on his right.

Meets Ukraine Leaders in Kiev 24 Feb

LD2402205189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1843 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Kiev, 24 Feb (TASS)—Today a meeting took place at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and full and candidate members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, the leadership of the republic's supreme soviet and council of ministers, first secretaries of obkoms, chairmen of oblispolkoms, heads of central committee departments, and the leaders of some republican departments and the mass information media.

Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, made a statement at the meeting. He spoke on the course of restructuring in the republic, the key problems which the republican party organization is working to solve, and of oversights, shortcomings, and cases of poor organizational work for the fulfilment of decisions which are being passed.

Taking part in the exchange of views were obkom first secretaries V. Kavun, Zhitomir; G. Kryuchkov, Odessa; V. Mysnichenko, Kharkov; L. Palazhchenko, Chernigov; and A. Myakota, Poltava; and P. Mostovoy, chairman of the republican state committee for material and technical supply. They frankly and self-critically communicated both the initial experience gained by party organizations at the crucial stage of implementing economic and political reforms, and their anxieties connected with the development of restructuring processes.

The meeting was summed up by Mikhail Gorbachev. He said that during his tour of the republic and during numerous meetings and conversations in labor collectives, with the residents of towns and villages, and with representatives of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, it had proved possible to sense, to detect, the main thing—the mood of the people and their active and energetic position.

These impressions confirm once again that restructuring in the Ukraine, just as throughout the country as a whole, is coming out onto a new level and is acquiring new features. Its ideas are being applied in practice more and more broadly. Figuratively speaking, restructuring is undergoing a test by life.

In formulating the key tasks which lie before the republican aktiv and the Communists of the entire country, Mikhail Gorbachev singled out two interconnected questions—about the party and the activity of party bodies in social conditions which have decidely changed, and the question of the work of cadres and of cadre policy.

Citing specific examples and observations, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about the fact that today the very style and content of work of party committees must change radically. Party work should become, first and foremost, work with the people and for the people. Such changes are underway. The party itself is changing; the tendency towards democratization of party life is becoming stronger; the significance of elective organs and, most inmportant, of primary party organizations is being heightened, as is the activity of rank and file Communists.

Nevertheless, in a number of cases the party is lagging behind the processes unfolding in the country. It is lagging behind, in particular, in giving ideological underpinning for restructuring. The intellectual level of party work must be enhanced and it must be freed of uncharacteristic functions.

It is essential that thought and life itself should thrive in every party organization. Only then will the party be able to honorably fulfill the role of society's political vanguard.

Developing the processes of restructuring depends to a decisive extent on work with cadres. This has become more complicated today. It is necessary to seek our new, more modern, and vital forms of it, and to see the

energetic and talented people brought to the fore by restructuring, people who do not simply support restructuring but are prepared to and are capable of taking on their shoulders the solving of the most urgent tasks of renewal.

Mikhail Gorbachev reported on the course of the election campaign and stressed the need for more energetic activity by party organizations and the intensification of all mass political work. We must move restructuring forward! That, he said, is the main conclusion which is reaffirmed by the meetings, conversations, reflections, and observations on Ukrainian soil. We must not stop or retreat, but go forward. Moving forward will remove many problems which have accumulated over the years while delaying can only make them worse.

The trip and contact with people even further strengthens confidence in the correctness of the path we have chosen.

Meets Writers in Kiev

PM2502193389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 February 1989 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report on M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with Ukrainian writers in Kiev; "Talk With Writers"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text]A meeting took place here today between Mikhail Gorbachev and prominent writers of the republic. They discussed in an unconstrained atmosphere some issues of restructuring in the intellectual sphere. The writers supported the party's policy on renewing all sides of the life of Soviet society, and shared their creative plans and concerns.

Glasnost and democratization, the writers said, help promote the modern Ukrainian culture and journalism, improve the atmosphere in society. Restructuring convinces us of the need to consolidate the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union.

"We are for fraternity, said Aleksandr Gonchar. "There should be not the slightest doubt about this. I am convinced that none of us, not a single man in the Ukraine thinks that it would do good to stay isolated nationally."

The writers A.K. Glushko, I.F. Drach, D.A. Mishchenko, A.G. Musiyenko, Yu.M. Mushketik, B.I. Oleynik, D.V. Pavlychko, and Yu.A. Serdyuk also took part in the conversation.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted the great significance of such meetings. They promote understanding and the unity of the intellectual forces of society. In conclusion he called on the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia to step up its contribution to the general process of restructuring.

TV Shows Airport Departure

LD2402185889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This morning, at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with republican party and economic leaders. [video shows audience taking notes; Gorbachev sitting; and Shcherbitskiy on his feet]

Also today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met Ukrainian writers. [video shows a smiling Gorbachev seated and chatting with writers]

Today, after his stay in the Ukraine, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev left Kiev for Moscow. He was seen off at the airport by Comrade Shcherbitskiy; Comrade Shevchenko, chairman of the republican supreme soviet presidium; Comrade Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers; other officials; and representatives of the public. [video shows Gorbachev shaking hands with officials, accepting flowers, standing with Raisa and Shcherbitskiy. He mounts the steps with Raisa after a handshake with a civil aviation official; final shots show Shcherbitskiy and Ukrainian officials waving, aircraft taxiing off]

Also today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived in Moscow.

People's Deputies Election Campaigns Continue

'Final Stage' Begins 24 Feb

LD2402072189 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent:

Registration of candidates to run for elections to the country's supreme legislature is nearing completion. The last district election meetings were held yesterday in territorial and national-territorial constituencies of the country. In accordance with the election law, they have submitted for registration the names of candidates who have received the necessary majority vote during the nomination campaign. The electioneers have thereby passed the first open and democratic exam for public maturity and civic mindedness. Their election programmes have also been put to thorough and detailed scrutiny.

A new, final stage of the election campaign will start tomorrow. This is when the candidates will meet their voters, explain their views and uphold their programmes, will reply to questions. In a word, they will vie for votes. As distinct from previous elections, when a

voter could cast his ballot "for" or "against" one single candidate, today there are two or even more aspirants to each mandate in most of the constituencies.

"Personal election hqs" of candidates will go into action at the new stage of the campaign. The election law allows each candidate to form his own "teams" of supporters, which is not to exceed ten persons. However, they have the right of representing the candidate in all cases, which will, of course, make the election campaign more active.

Not only meetings of candidates with the electorate will be held during the last month of the election campaign (the elections in territorial and national-territorial constituencies are scheduled for March 26th). There will also be conferences, plenary meetings or congresses of public organisations this March. They will elect deputies to the supreme legislature from these organisations. Thus, by March 26th, when the voters will go to the polls in their respective consituencies to elect fifteen hundred deputies, 750 will have already been elected by public organisations.

Candidates To Have Legal Immunity

LD2502041989 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—The candidates to run in the elections of Soviet People's Deputies are guaranteed immunity. Without the Central Electoral Commission's consent, criminal proceedings cannot be instituted against the candidate. He cannot be arrested or subjected to administrative punishment in legal form, the newspaper ARGUMENTY I FAKTY wrote on Friday . [24 February]

For the period of the election campaign the candidate is freed from his production or official duties, and is paid an average wage. He is allowed to travel on public transport free of charge (except taxis) within the bounds of the district he is running in.

The candidate can legally have up to ten aides who assist him in the election campaign and who represent his interests in relations with state and public agencies, electors and also at electoral commissions.

The candidate to the USSR Supreme Legislature must have a programme of his future work, outlining the main areas of his activities as deputy, and specifying his personal contribution to perestroyka, the newspaper said.

OGONEK Editor Fails To Win Nomination

PM2402144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA special correspondents S. Bogatko and Yu. Kuzmin report under the rubric "We Are Preparing for Elections": "In Favor of Action Program"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—The registration of USSR candidate deputies nominated from territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs ended today. The last okrug election meetings took place the day before.

On Tuesday an election meeting was held at the PRAVDA Publishing House Palace of Culture for Moscow's No 21 Electoral Okrug, which encompasses two rayons—Sverdlovskiy and Dzerzhinskiy. A most keen debate resulted in the meeting opting for people who have proved themselves to be above all competent and sensible organizers of production, people of honor and action capable of resolving both production and social problems. [passage omitted]

Here are the results of the voting: Yu. Skokov, general director of "Kvant" Science and Production Association (437 "for" and 88 "against"); P. Surov, chairman of the Moscow Construction Committee (409 and 116 respectively); L. Kozlovskiy, general director of Moscow's "Kommunar" Machine Building Association (353 and 172); Yu. Nikulin, director of the Moscow Circus on Tsvetnyy Avenue (167 and 358); V. Teryayev, director of the N.V. Sklifosovskiy "Skoraya Pomoshch" Research Institute (161 and 364); V. Korotich, editor in chief of OGONEK (132 and 393); and I. Stolyarov, cheif of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade Economic Main Administration (131 and 394).

Thus, Yu. Skokov, P. Surov, and L. Kozlovskiy have been registered as USSR candidate deputies for Moscow's No 21 Sverdlovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug. [passage omitted]

Leningrad's Solovyev To Run [Moscow Radio]

LD2702070789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Exactly 1 month remains before the elections of USSR People's deputies, which are to take place on March 26. A list of candidates for USSR people's deputies registered in territorial and national territorial constituencies is being published. Meetings between the candidates and the electorate will be held.

In Leningrad, Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, will stand for territorial constituency No 55. He has met with the electorate in the premises of school No 348. Yuriy Filippovich put forward his election platform and responded to numerous questions posed by those assembled. [passage omitted]

RSFSR Presidium Session on Election

PM2402123389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Elections: New Experience"]

[Text] A routine session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 22 February. It examined the question of the work of Moscow Oblast soviets of people's deputies at the final stage of the preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies.

The resolution adopted by the presidium instructed the soviets of people's deputies in the capital's oblast and their executive and management organs to eliminate the shortcomings that have been pointed out. It stressed that all the activity of the soviets within the framework of the preparations for the elections should be closely tied up with the deepening of restructuring and the development of working people's creative initiative.

The session discussed the preliminary results of the okrug election meetings and questions linked with the formation of district election commissions, the registration of candidate deputies, and their meetings with voters throughout the RSFSR as a whole. The appropriate recommendations were made to the autonomous republics' Supreme Soviet Presidiums and ispolkoms in all links of the republic's local soviets.

V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, chaired the session.

150 Arrested in Protests Marking Georgia Annexation

AU2502210589 Paris AFP in English 2024 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb 25 (AFP)—At least 150 people were arrested Saturday in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi during protests to mark the 68th anniversary of Georgia's annexation by the Soviet Union, a local dissident said.

The arrests were made by security forces supported by dozens of armoured cars, during demonstrations by up to 15,000 people in protest at the 1921 entry of Soviet forces into Georgia, said Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a spokesman for a Georgian nationalist movement.

He added that most of those arrested were later released.

"It is as if a state of siege had been declared," Mr. Gamsakhurdia told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone, adding that a large number of protesters and "even some passers-by" were severely beaten with truncheons by security forces.

"This is the first time that this has happened at Tbilisi", he said, adding that "all the streets have been closed and bus services have been suspended" during the day-long demonstrations.

Another dissident said that February 25, 1921, when the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed, "is for us a day of mourning."

"This is the first time that a demonstration has been organised" to mark the occasion, he added.

20,000 Demonstrate for Official Moldavian Language

AU2702105489 Paris AFP in English 1041 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb 27 (AFP)—Police in the Moldavian capital of Kishinev clashed with thousands of demonstrators on Sunday after a local leader gave in to their demands for Moldavian to become the Soviet republic's official language, a local dissident said Monday.

Ion Tutunaru, a spokesman for the pro-reformist Democratic Movement, said 20,000 people took part Sunday in a demonstration in the southwestern capital which later ended in clashes involving police and 8,000 protesters.

Mr. Tutunaru, reached by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone, said Moldavian Communist Party leader Semen Grossu told the crowd that Moldavian would become the republic's official language, as they had earlier demanded.

The spokesman said the local authorities had banned the demonstration, which was also held in support of the Latin alphabet replacing the Russian cyrillic script used since 1938.

The protesters, who chanted "down with the bureaucrats" and "down with the mafia", also called for the release of a local militant, Yuriy Tsurkan, who began a 10-day prison sentence last Thursday, Mr. Tutunaru said.

Speaking Friday in a locally-televised address, Mr. Grossu had rebuffed calls to make Moldavian the republic's official language, saying that Russian should still dominate "in order to facilitate international contacts."

Mr. Grossu, whose comments were reported by the official Soviet news agency TASS, also accused nationalist protesters of "gambling with the national feelings of the people," Tass said.

Demonstrators gathered Sunday near a building housing the offices of Mr. Grossu and the party's Central Committee. Mr. Grossu tried without success to calm the crowd, speaking first in Russian and then in Moldavian.

No information was available on possible injuries after the police clashed with demonstrators, who ended their protest later Sunday evening.

Nationalist demonstrations are a regular feature of Moldavian life, where 64 per cent of the republic's 4.5 million population are ethnic Moldavians.

First Anniversary of Sumgait 'Pogroms' Observed

500 Armenians Gather in Moscow

AU2602164589 Paris AFP in English 1551 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb 26 (AFP)—Some 500 Armenians gathered quietly at the Armenian cemetery here to mark the first anniversary of the pogroms of Sumgait, observing a minute of silence as large numbers of police and militias looked on.

Inside the church by the cemetery, photographs of some of the 26 Armenians who died on February 28 and 29 a year ago in ethnic massacres at the Caspian sea port of Sumgait, Azerbaijan, were posted on the wall.

In the cemetery, several leaders of Moscow's Armenian community spoke of the killings, their origins and consequences. One noted that 1988 had been a terrible year for Armenians, marked by strife with neighboring Azerbaijan and by the catastrophic earthquake of December 7.

A few people in the crowd briefly held up banners calling for more light to be shed on the killings and for the government to give a political analysis of them.

However police observing the gathering did not move.

Father Tiran Gureghian, religious leader of the Armenian community here, led the crowd to observe a minute of silence.

In Yerevan, the Armenian capital, where gatherings marking the Sumgait massacres have been banned by the government, informed sources said the anniversary would be observed on Tuesday.

Yerevan Appeal for Order

NC2602072789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 26 Feb 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The newspaper carries an appeal by the Yerevan Gorispolkom and by the military commandant of the special district which states: Dear comrades, the incidents in February last year in Sumgait are [words indistinct] in the people's hearts. Party, soviet, and military groups are receiving (?requests) from collectives and individuals to allow them to [words indistinct] flowers this year on February 28. The Yerevan people's deputies' gorispolkom and the military commandant of the special district report that the forces safeguarding public order will not prevent them from paying homage to the memories of the victims. (?It is hoped) that the Yerevan citizens will display orderly behavior and self-restraint (?and will respect public order). May the (?memory) of the Sumgait victims be [word indistinct].

Armenian Nuclear Power Plant Shutdown Begins

Concern for Public Safety Noted

LD2502110889 Moscow TASS In English 1054 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan February 25 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Sergey Svistunov:

The Armenian nuclear power plant is being closed down by a decision of the Soviet Government. The shutdown of its first power unit started at noon on Saturday. The second will be stopped on March 18. The plant designed for 30-year operation started to generate currency [as received] in 1976 and had been supplying electricity to Armenia and other Soviet Transcaucasian republics since that time.

The USSR closes down an operating and serviceable atomic station for the first time. This decision was prompted by a concern for the safety of Armenian population. The station is situated in a quake-prone zone in the Ararat Valley some 40 kilometres from the republican capital city of Yerevan with a population of one million. A decision had been taken to close down the station by 1990 even before the devastating earthquake in Armenia.

The plant was not damaged as a result of the earthquake and was working full blast all this time. Nevertheless, taking into account the general seismic situation in the area and wishes of the public, a decision was taken to stop it.

"It will take only two and a half hours to stop the power set completely: to discontinue nuclear reaction and to withdraw uranium fuel from the reactor's active zone," says the station's chief engineer Vanik Neresesyan. "But after this, the used nuclear fuel will be stored at our place [as received] in full safety for three years. Accordingly, many sections of the station will work all this time. The station will cease to exist only when fuel is carried to a place of processing and subsequent burial."

Now plans are being drawn to remake the station into an ordinary thermal plant in 3-4 years. It will run evidently on natural gas. Many of the present station's personnel will work at the future thermal station, Vanik Nersesyan said.

'First Unit' Shut Down 25 Feb

LD2502125989 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 25 TASS—The first unit of the Armenian nuclear power station was shut down at 13:23, Moscow time [1023 GMT], on Saturday [25 Feb], Anatoliy Kontsevoi, head of the chief administration on nuclear power plants with water-moderated water-cooled reactors of the USSR Ministry of the Nuclear

Power Industry, told TASS. The 407,500 kw station will be completely closed down in compliance with a decision of the Soviet Government taken last January.

The Armenian station worked for 12 years though it was designed for a 30-year period. It generated 25,650 million kwh in this time.

Anatoliy Kontsevoi noted that the plant has a high resistance to earthquakes. It continued operating during the earthquake in Armenia on last December 7. A later checkup did not detect any damages or malfunction. The first set was also operating smoothly before its stoppage. "The ecological situation around the plant remains quite normal, "the Soviet expert pointed out.

In his words, the station will be under a constant control of electrical engineers till all the fuel is hauled away from the plant. All necessary personnel will work at the station. "Small doubt that public opinion played the decisive role in the decision to close down the station," Kontsevoi noted.

Yerevan Reports Shutdown

NC2602080889 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] The first unit of Armenia's nuclear power plant ceased to operate today. An issue of great national controversy has indeed finally been resolved. Even before the nuclear power plant was built, the majority of scientists opposed its construction in the densely populated seismic zone of the Ararat field. However, during the years of stagnation, public views, as always, were ignored and the nuclear power plant was built.

After the Chernobyl disaster, our country's scientific-technical force began efforts to ensure and guarantee the safety of the nuclear power plants. However, the earthquake in December last year necessitated a re-examination of safety guarantees.

Under the conditions of reconstruction and democracy in public life, it had been decided at state level to close down the nuclear power plant in Armenia, albeit at a later date. However, the disaster showed that timetables should be brought forward and that the dangerous existence of the nuclear power plant should be ended immediately.

The need for electrical energy in the disaster area is probably great today. Security, however, is more necessary.

It is planned to shut down the second unit of the Armenian nuclear power plant in 22 days. It has been decided to transform the nuclear power plant into a thermal power plant in order to meet the public's economic and energy needs. In view of this, the output of the Razdanskiy state power plant will be increased, and other reserves will be put to use.

Present at the closure of the Armenian nuclear power plant's first unit were Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium; Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's council of ministers; and representatives of the public and press.

Voronin Attends Session of Commission on Armenia

LD2502174289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Leninakan, 25 Feb (TASS)—The largest detachment of construction workers among those who have come to Armenia to eliminate the consequences of the ruinous earthquake which happened in December last year is now working in Leninakan the republic's second city in terms of significance. Considerable forces of planners and surveyors have also been concentrated here. They have effectively completed preparations immense in terms of volume and complexity for the large-scale erection of housing and sociocultural amenities that has begun.

Matters relating to the acceleration and broad development of this construction work were examined at the latest working meeting of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo, a meeting led here today by Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission pointed to the danger of the apathetic mood being displayed by some Leninakan leaders when evaluating what has been done. Despite certain positive advances in the work of the construction complex of the city, a significant number of unresolved issues still remain here. Many of them are arising due to the elementary inefficiency of the people making decisions.

For example, the republic's Gosstroy is promising to present the first designs for school buildings only in mid-March. However, fine designs for schools which are being built in Moscow exist, and they have been drafted with account for the demands for seismically sound construction. It is necessary to recall the fleetingness of time: If one loses a week or two more, then it will be physically impossible to build a standard school by the start of September.

The commission expressed its concern over the patently low plan for commissioning residential blocks in the first 6 months of the current year. This means that on construction sites there will definitely be rushed work in the second half of the year. The commission has warned the executors about their special responsibility for the quality of construction in the disaster zone and put

forward a proposal on redrawing up the plan for commissioning blocks in Leninakan, so as to put into operation before july not less than 25 percent of residential housing envisaged in the year's program.

Today in Leninakan the question of restoring dangerous buildings is raised with acuteness. The construction organizations of the republic's Gosstroy which are required to tackle questions concerning repairs and restoration of housing, are showing sluggishness. The commission has suggested that the Leninakan gorkom and the Gorispolkom should be more resolute in joining in the tackling of the urgent matters of the city life.

The commission was once again forced to return to the issue of glasnost concerning the decision being made by the construction workers. Despite the promises, the inhabitants of regions that had suffered from the natural disaster were nevertheless not shown the general plans for construction of their home towns and villages, and not a single public discussion of these plans and designs for forthcoming construction was conducted.

The republic's mass information media are also occupying a passive position, and not only in this matter, but also in explaining the conditions of labor remuneration of the construction and other workers returning to the reconstructed plants and factories. All this gives rise to just criticism from the inhabitants of the natural disaster regions who are returning to normal work.

The commission also discussed the course of the reconstruction work at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and control systems. The attention of leaders of both ministries was drawn to the quest for reserves for more active reconstruction of enterprises through their own efforts.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, took part in the session's work.

Vilnius Council of Ministers' Decree on Language

LD2102150589 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Vilnius February 21 TASS—A decree of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers published here on Tuesday deals with the use of the Lithuanian language as the official language of the Soviet Republic of Lithuania, as well as with guarantees of the use of Russian and other languages in various spheres of life.

At present Lithuanians account for about 80 per cent of the republic's population. Most Russians, Poles, Byelorussians and Jews living in the republic speak Lithuanian. This was taken into account during the working out of the decree. Congresses, sessions, plenary meetings and other forums are to be held in Lituanian. If need be, translation of reports into Russian or from Russian into Lithuanian will be organised. The same goes for contcts with citizens at governmental or public institutions, at public health, communal services and judicial bodies.

Lithuanian will be taught in educational establishments at all levels. At the same time, it is guaranteed that preschool child-care institutions and schools of all types—with Lithuanian, Russian, Polish and so on as the main language—will be located in populated localities in accordance with the wishes of their residents. The decree envisages the creation of a special centre for teaching Lithuanian. It will coordinate teaching methods, the publication of text-boods, dictionaries and conversation books, and the production of records.

Estonia Flies National Flag on Independence Day

State Flag Lowered at Ceremony

LD2302230189

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 2000 GMT on 23 February carries a 7-minute report on a ceremony taking place in Tallinn to lower the state flag.

Correspondent Hubert Velderman reports that "thousands" of people are present to witness the lowering of the state flag from the Pikk Hermann tower. The flag has been flying there since 1953.

Mayor of Tallinn Hari Lumi, who ceremonially receives the lowered flag says: "The Estonian people want our tricolor national flag to fly on top of Pikk Hermann again. This will happen tomorrow, 24 February 1989, when we celebrate the independence day of our Estonian republic."

National Flag Hoisted 24 Feb

LD2402122589 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Tallinn February 24 TASS—The national blue-black-white flag was hoisted over the highest medieval castle tower of the capital of Soviet Estonia at 8.33 a.m. today, with the first rays of the rising sun. The state flag of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was solemnly transferred to the local Revolution Museum the night before.

"The decision to proclaim February 24th the day of Estonia's independence and to raise the blue-black-white national flag on the long Herman tower on that day is an important step towards restoring the Estonian people's dignity and recognizing their genuine history", it is stated in the appeal issued by the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Republic.

The blue, black and white colours of the Estonian national flag have an ancient history. On September 29th, 1881, they were proclaimed the colours of the Estonian student society. The blue colour symbolizes faith in the future, friendship and unity, black is the colour of earth, of the Estonian national tunic and denotes the people's difficult past, white is the colour of hope. In 1884 the flag was solemnly sanctified in the pastorate of the Otepaa Church in southern Estonia. At the turn of the century the blue, black and white colours became national.

February 24th is linked with the history of Estonian statehood. The Democratic Estonian Republic was proclaimed on that day in 1918.

"Perestroyka has contributed to the reassessment of many things", it was stated by Arnold Ryuytel, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. "And it should be clearly realized that dates of national history and national symbols should not be regarded as something hostile to socialism. While celebrating the day of Estonia's independence, we by no means call off the celebration of the anniversaries of the Estland Labour Commune and the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic".

Taking part in the flag-hoisting ceremony were leaders of the Communist Party and government of Estonia, representatives of public organisations, clergymen.

Holiday functions are under way in Tallinn and other populated localities of the republic in connection with Estonia's Independence Day.

Estonian People's Front Leader Defends Colleague
PM1402152989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with M. Lauristin, member of the Estonian People's Front Board by V. Ivanov in Tallinn 26 January: "From a Commonsense Position"—first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA introduction]

[Text] "From a Common Sense Position"—this was the title of an article published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 14 January this year under the rubric "Letter to the Editorial Office." Its author, A. Shibin, a worker from Tallinn, was, via the newspaper, asking the leaders of the Estonian People's Front, and specifically E. Savisaar, to reply to a number of questions which have arisen on acquaintance with certain documents of Estonian People's Front meetings and statements made at such meetings. The letter was followed by an editorial office postscript which read: "We hope that the leaders of the Estonian People's Front will respond to this letter. We are prepared to allocate them space in the newspaper for a reply or an interview."

Speaking at a People's Front press conference in the House of the Press 25 January, M. Lauristin, member of the Estonian People's Front Board, protested A. Shibin's letter and the newspaper's stance. After agreement with our correspondent a more detailed interview took place the next day at the editorial office. We submit its content for your attention today.

[M. Lauristin] The Estonian People's Front Board has discussed the said press material signed by A. Shibin, a worker. In our opinion, it contains obvious distortions, disinformation, and an attempt to discredit one of the leaders of the People's Front, Edgar Savisaar. The material contains tendentious claims which are a distortion of real facts.

[Ivanov] In order to avoid generalizations, let us take a closer look at the text of A. Shibin's letter....

[M. Lauristin] That will be best, of course. For instance, in the passage (or section) on the news media, the author develops his argument so as to create the impression in the reader's mind that the People's Front monopolizes virtually all the Estonian language publications in the republic, trying to attract journalists to its side, not to say "recruit" them, thus establishing a bias in reporting on the various social movements in favor of the People's Front. A. Shibin names a number of journalists who are members of leading organs of the People's Front. The facts as such are correct. However, for the sake of accuracy I would like to inform you that it is not the People's Front which "recruits" supporters among the newspaper men and television and radio journalists, but that it is **they**—or at least many of them, and in any case all those whom Shibin names—who stood at the cradle of the People's Front and initiated and played an active part in its formation both in Tallinn and in many other parts. It is only to be regretted that other movements were started up without the participation of journalists. Consequently, we regard the criticism leveled at the People's Front in this respect as unfounded.

[Ivanov] To be frank, I do not quite understand your indignation in connection with this passage. After all, Shibin merely **states the fact** that there are relatively many journalists in the leadership of the People's Front, and not just rank-and-file journalists but also newspaper editors and heads of sections. But he does not **reproach** you with this....

[M. Lauristin] If only one such instance were cited, it would be possible to interpret it like this. But when there is a whole series of other instances, clearly of an accusatory nature, then, in the overall context, it is perceived as a reproach, which is how we understand it. But let us go on.

In the passage on elections A. Shibin complains that our system of elections is not the most democratic one. But again he somehow manages to put the blame on the People's Front, which allegedly did everything it could during the discussion of draft all-Union documents on changes in the electoral system to reduce the whole discussion to an "out-of-hand" rejection without proposing anything specific or constructive. This is an outright

attempt to turn everything topsy-turvy. It is well known that the Estonian SSR delegation which comprised A. Ryuytel, I. Toome, A. Almann, and also E. Savisaar and myself, handed Comrade Lukyanov at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium a whole package of specific proposals on draft changes to the electoral system. These proposals were elaborated by several public commissions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet which also included representatives of the People's Front. Suggestions of rank-and-file workers made in the course of the discussion of the drafts were, naturally, taken into account. So, before making claims about a categorical rejection of the union drafts, he would have done better to acquaint himself with the actual state of affairs.

Further in Shibin's letter the People's Front, and E. Savisaar in particular, are accused of active participation of the Estonian People's Front in the election campaign and Edgar Savisaar is accused of exhorting supporters of the People's Front to take part in the work of election commissions and to propose "their own people" to them.... Here again actual facts are cited but they are interpreted in a, to our mind, impermissible fashion. It is true that we are actively participating in the election campaign, but by doing so we are in no way infringing any laws. The Republic Government and the Communist Party Central Committee have called on the population and all labor collectives and social organizations to directly participate in preparations for the elections.

It will do no harm to emphasize here that although the Estonian People's Front has still not been registered by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium as a social organization (despite the fact that our application was submitted several months ago), at local level—in cities and villages—the local authorities have officially registered practically all our organizations which have the status of a corporate body and hence the right to participate in local electoral commissions.

As for the submission of the candidacies of a number of leaders of the People's Front to become people's deputies, here too, everything that has been done is strictly in accordance with the law. The candidacy of Teet Kallas, for instance, was put forward by the Republic Trade Union Council. M. Lauristin is the candidate of many enterprises and the Tartu State University party organization, and so forth. So that there are no machinations on the part of the People's Front, no "clandestine" or "illegal" operations by its activists, as readers of Shibin's letter might be led to believe.

[Ivanov] What about indirect influence?

[M. Lauristin] Well, if the candidacies of people named at meetings of the People's Front receive support in enterprise, organization, and institution labor collectives, this means that these people are really worthy. I would like to emphasize once again: All our preelection activities are strictly in accordance with the law. As for the claim that Savisaar is supposed to have issued "instructions" as to which candidates should or should not be supported by the People Front, at a closed session of the council of authorized agents of the Estonian People's Front moreover.... it must be said that the publication of this kind of information without verification and based on hearsay does not correspond to the concept of correct behavior from the viewpoint of journalistic ethics.

Now about the relations between the People's Front and the Estonian Communist Party. This section of the material is particularly alarming because there is evidence of a tendency to underline all the aspects which might lead to a conflict between the Estonian People's Front and the republic party organization.

Dialogue, discusssion, and criticism are natural components of social life, including intraparty life. Savisaar is a member of the party and he has raised the issues cited by Shibin at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in September and he makes no secret of his views even today. Yet the newspaper stresses that Savisaar's remarks are a sign of confrontation between the People's Front and the Estonian Communist Party....

In the same section it is hinted that the analysis of the political situation in the republic carried out by Savisaar allegedly differs from the analysis made by M. Lauristin. In this way two of the leaders of the People's Front are pitted against each other, as it were.

[Ivanov] Well, first, contradictions between individual supporters of one movement are, in my opinion, a relatively natural phenomenon....

[M. Lauristin] ...And second, in the said material this claim is based on false information. That is to say, utterances by Edgar Savisaar are ascribed to...myself. The scenario according to which the Communist Party and the People' Front are at the center of the political forces stage in the republic, while the International Movement and the "Estonian national independence party" occupy positions on either side of the spectrum tending to varying degrees toward extreme, diametrically opposed positions, this scenario was put forward at the People's Front Congress by none other than Savisaar. And the fact that during his address in the City Hall 22 December he compared the changes which had occurred since October in the relations between the Communist Party on the one hand and the International Movement and the United Council of Labor Collectives on the other hand, and the impact of these changes on the political life in the republic is tendentiously interpreted in Shibin's letter so as to create the impression that Savisaar is totally obliterating the Communist Party from the map of political forces in Estonia. That is an obvious distortion.

As for the relations between Savisaar and the "Karabakh Committee," and in general between the Estonian People's Front and the analogous social movement in Armenia, there are very many strained interpretations in the material published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, or, putting it more bluntly, it is an attempt at political denunciation. And if, toward the end of the said section, the author writes that such conduct is unworthy of an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and a Communist, it is possible to discern in these words a hint that reprisals should be taken against this man, that so-called "organizational conclusions" should be drawn from this.

[Ivanov] Let us remind readers what E. Savisaar is being accused of here.

[M. Lauristin] First of all, of having delivered a speech at a rally in Yerevan. However, the timing is deliberately misrepresented here. Savisaar was in Armenia in August, that is at a time when the "Karabakh Committee" not only had not yet been arrested, but had not even been declared illegal, despite all the differences with the official authorities. Incidentally, the arrest itself, of the committee's activists including two deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, has evoked protests from the country's democratic public. But let us leave the discussion of this theme for another time. However, the fact that Savisaar is being blamed for having made the acquaintance of activists of the "Karabakh Committee" who were not arrested until **January** and also for making no secret for his views as an honest man, this fact is calling for a strong protest on moral grounds.

In the same section it is stated that the Estonian People's Front Congress adopted a resolution-appeal to the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet proposing that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast should be handed over to Armenia. This is interpreted as interference in Azerbaijan's internal affairs. What can one say to this?

A collection of materials of the Estonian People's Front Congress has been published—so far only in Estonian, the Russian version is in print—where anyone can read the said resolution, if he has not already done so in the press. It contains an appeal to the governments of both **Azerbaijan** and **Armenia** to sit down at the negotiating table in order to resolve all problems by democractic methods, taking account of the interests of all parties. An unprejudiced reader will not be able to find any pressure or one-sided intervention in this text. It is a blatant lie aimed at uninformed readers.

The last point: At the very end of his letter Shibin insinuates that Savisaar abused his official position during the election campaign when putting forward his candidacy for a people's deputy post. It is true, the text only refers to a nameless director. However, judging by the series of direct accusations leveled at this person, this passage looks like yet another personal attack, or more precisely, calumny.

[Ivanov] Don't you think that if an **anonymous** reproach is perceived by the leadership of the Estonian People's Front as being aimed at a **specific** person, readers may come to the conclusion that, as the saying goes, there is no smoke without fire?

[M. Lauristin] This is quite possible. However, we would like complete accuracy and clarity to be established in this matter. E. Savisaar travelled to all events connected with the elections, including meetings with voters, in his own car on gasoline bought with his own money. And he used no official money to pay for a interpreter.

[Ivanov] What you said here today is quite convincing. But would you not agree that our newspaper (and not just our newspaper) has published readers' letters containing questions to the leaders of the People's Front and Edgar Savisaar personally on several occasions, yet we never received an answer to any of these materials although we turned to members of the Estonian People's Front Board more than once. And so, both the editorial office and our readership inevitably came to the conclusion that either the questions which perturb a certain section of the Russian-speaking population contain a certain amount of truth, or that the leaders of the People's Front, are by ignoring these questions demonstrating disrespect for those who are asking them. Don't you agree that neither the one nor the other can contribute to a clarification of the situation and to consolidation? On the other hand, if the editorial office and readers had received precise, unequivocal answers without delay at the time, the further escalation of alarm which has been expressed in concentrated form in A. Shibin's letter could have been avoided.

[M. Lauristin] It is quite possible that we have made a blunder by underestimating previous publications of this kind. But there is one more nuance. We are prepared to conduct a dialogue or a discussion on fundamental propositions but not at the level of personalities. And you must admit that there have been no personal attacks on leaders of the International Movement, for instance, on the part of People's Front activists in the press, the other news media, or public statements at least. Incidentally, this is why it is I, and not Savisaar, who is answering your questions today and I am doing so **on behalf of the People's Front Board**, because otherwise it would look like an attempt on his part to justify himself, and we do not accept that level of discussion.

[Ivanov] Well, let us hope that this interview will help to calm the alarm, at least on those aspects which are causing the greatest concern. However, I believe that this does not rule out a discussion on general policy questions. In this context we would like to ask you as well to view our publications without prejudice and not to regard them as an attempt to discredit the People's Front and its leaders.

More on Adoption of Estonian Language Law

*Report on Voting

WA18000508 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Communique on the 10th Session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet 11th Convocation"; for further reportage on the Estonian SSR's Adoption of the Law on Language, see the 24 January issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 68-69]

[Excerpts] The 10th Session 11th Convocation of the Esotnian SSR Supreme Soviet was held 18 January in the Toompea in Tallinn.

The following agenda was approved unanimously:

1. On the ratification of the ukases of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. 2. On the draft legislation of the Estonian SSR on language. 3. The inquiry of deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet L. Veskimyae and K. Benno to G. Tynspoeg, chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosagroprom, about the provision of the population of Tallinn with potatoes and vegetables. 4. The inquiry of Deputy of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet O. Bosenko to P. Palu, chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosstroy, about the reconstruction of the Kekhra Paper and Pulp Combine.

The participants in the session then proceeded to discuss the draft Law on Language. A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Deputy E.-A. Sillari, chairman of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, presented reports.

Information on the preparation of the Law on Language for implementation was presented by E. Pyldroos, chairman of the working group on the Law on Language organized under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A. Soydla, first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers; V. Rayangu, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Public Education; P. Panfilov, second secretary of the Tallinn Party Gorkom; Estonian SSR Minister of Consumer Services V. Khalmyagi; Estonian SSR Minister of Health L. Karu; K. Tammistu, member of the Commission on Public Education and Culture of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet; and A. Siyg, first deputy chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Union of Writers.

The session established an editing commission, which was assigned the task of examining the proposals presented as well as the bill as a whole.

At the suggestion of Deputy V. Malkovskiy, the decision was made that deputies who prepared speeches but did not speak can submit them to the leadership of the Supreme Soviet for inclusion in the protocol of the session and for publication in the stenographic report.

Deputy E.-A. Sillari, chairman of the editing commission, was given the floor in the evening meeting of the session. He summarized the results of the commission's 4 hours of work.

250 deputies voted for the proposal of the editing commission to make the presented bill the basis. One deputy voted against it and three abstained (263 deputies participated in the work of the session).

The editing commission proposed that the bill be voted on by sections. But there was also a proposal that there be a vote on the entire law. 131 deputies voted for the first proposal and 123 for the second.

The sections of the bill were adopted by the following majority of votes: 234 people voted for the preamble to the law and the vote for the sections was as follows: "Private Person"—214; "Institutions of State Authority and State Administration"—223; "Institutions, Enterprises and Organizations"—204; "Legal Procedures"—258; "Education, Science and Culture"—220; "Assemblies"—256; "Names and Titles"—260; "Signs and Information"—245; "Application of the Law"—207; "Responsibility and Control of the Execution of the Law"—242.

On behalf of a group of deputies from Tallinn, Kokhtla-Yarve, Sillamyae and Narva, Deputy V. Kravets declared that this group does not consider it possible to participate in the voting for the adoption of the law as a whole. He justified this by saying that the bill does not take into account their comments and suggestions and that in its present form the bill does not meet the interests of tens of thousands of voters.

The Law of the Estonian SSR on Language was then submitted to a vote as a whole. 204 deputies voted for the law, 50 against and 6 abstained.

*Speech by Presidium Chairman Ryuytel

WA18000508 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 1

[Speech by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 10th Session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet 11th Convocation; date not specified]

[Text] Honored deputies and guests!

At the 9th Session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 7 December last year, we passed a decree on the status of the official language of the Estonian SSR. The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR found that the draft of a Law of the Estonian SSR on Language revised as a result of national discussion basically meets the constitutional position determining the status of the Estonian language as the official language, providing legal guarantees for the utilization of the official, Russian and other

languages in the Estonian SSR. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet committed the deputies to inform their voters about the bill in detail.

Preceding from the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the CPSU is working out essential measures to improve and harmonize multinational relations. Let us recall one of the sections of the resolution of the All-Union Party Conference: "A most important principle of our multinational state is the free development and equal right to utilize native languages by all citizens of the USSR and the mastery of the Russian language voluntarily accepted by the Soviet people as the means of intercourse between nationalities. One must establish all the conditions so that the national-Russian bilingualism develops harmoniously and naturally taking into account the peculiarities of each region and is free of formalism. One must demonstrate more concern about the active functioning of national languages in different areas of state, public and cultural life. One must encourage the study of the language of the nation for which the republic is named by the citizens of other nationalities living in its territory, especially children and young people. All of this must not contradict the democratic principles of the free choice of the language of instruction."

The position on the question of the language that evoked many disputes was also formulated at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. The report of the plenum states: "Also absolutely unequivocal is the position of the Bureau of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee on the question of the status of the Estonian language. The Russian language is the language of the multinational intercourse of the peoples of the USSR and each citizen must—I repeat—must have the possibility of conducting his business in this language at any place in the Soviet Union. But the Estonian language must be the official language in the Estonian SSR and there it must be possible to conduct all business in the Estonian language. It is natural that the position of the language is fixed at the state level."

These party instructions were the basis for the working group on questions of the status of the Estonian language under the leadership of E. Pyldroos, candidate member of the Bureau of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, in drawing up the Law on Language.

The status of the Estonian language as the official language does not effect the civil rights of persons, no matter what their native language is. In defending the Estonian language at the state level, the Estonian SSR acknowledges that the citizens of any nationality have the inalienable right to develop their own native language and culture and [to have] equality of all citizens before the law, regardless of their native language. This democratic principle is developed in specific positions in the articles of the bill.

How does our bill relate to private persons, that is, to the citizens of our state and, in addition to this, to all other persons in our country?

The bill clearly reflects the maximum possible equality of individuals before the law. This main direction was not imposed on us from outside. The Estonian people never have had and do not now have any visible basis for a discriminatory attitude toward individuals or families on account of their nationality. Estonians love to feel that they are representatives of their own nation and they consider all peace-loving people who love their own nation to be good neighbors. True, we cannot guarantee that every citizen of the Estonian SSR will be able to conduct business in his own native language in state authorities, government institutions or other departments. Alas, there are too many such native languages. But we can guarantee the possibility of conducting business in the Estonian language as well as in Russian, the language studied throughout the Soviet Union, and that is what the draft Law on Language strives to do.

We were induced to implement the idea of the Law on Language by the fact that the area of use of the Estonian language in the Estonian SSR, that is, in the traditional and unique territory of the Estonian nation, is being reduced constantly. One of the main tasks of the Law on Language is to stop this process and gradually to restore the Estonian language in Estonia both territorially and in different areas of life, without thereby affecting the interests of individuals and families of other nationalities and also without affecting the interests of the entire society, which in a socialist state certainly cannot conflict with the interests of loyal citizens. In this connection, the opinion has emerged in some places that it is impossible to accommodate national linguistic interests and that it would be harmful to normalize the position of the Estonian language. It is possible to accommodate national linguistic interests if one makes mutual respect the basis. Thus, the Law on Language should be understand as the basis prescribed by lawmakers, on which with time a lasting and high moral level of multinational relations will be established. We have long had the slogan of equality of nations and languages. This is an ideal to which one must strive. And the central idea of the Law on Language of the Estonian SSR is to bring the linguistic rights of the citizens speaking Estonian and other languages closer to these rights of citizens who speak Russian so that Estonians are given adequate possibilities to utilize their own language within the boundaries of the union republic, their traditional territory. Let us not hesitate to note that the need to know languages that exists for certain specialties or positions can in no way be considered an infringement of rights. These requirements must not be confused with the equality of people before the law, including labor legislation, regardless of language. To the Estonians in the Estonian SSR, mastery of the Russian language is a condition for work in many positions. The Law on Language will also require the mastery of the official language of the union republic for practically those same specialties and positions. This is

honest and fair and also fully corresponds to the spirit of the party documents cited above. In Estonia, knowledge of languages was always considered to be a very significant part of learning and we would not want anyone ever to think that knowledge of even the language of that nation in which he lives is useless or even a harmful burden. Many Russian-speaking citizens of Estonia have recently begun to show an interest in the Estonian language. Many of them want their children to be able to learn Estonian, just as Estonian children learn Russian. Estonians are happy to see this and this is the way to achieve the lasting moral level that was spoken of above.

If we want to implement the policy of perestroyka actively—and we certainly do want this—then we must not lose heart in the face of the difficulties associated with any reforms. And the more profound the reforms, the more moral firmness is required to overcome the difficulties. In connection with the normalization of the status of the Estonian language, it is necessary to distinguish clearly the basic methods and procedures of the transmission period. One of the main methods must be good instruction of the Estonian language in Russian schools and, of course, in foreign-language schools, in the event that they are established. This requires much complicated work, especially on the part of Soviet authorities. The teaching of the Estonian language to adults is primarily a temporary phenomenon. The feeling of concern to the extent that it is manifested is a kind of payment for the real drawing together of nations and for the achievement, in a manner of speaking, of peace between nations.

One must consider that for a long time the living environment of the native population of Estonia was not normal with respect to the national language. This is incompatible with the internationalism of the socialist society and cannot be justified by "growth difficulties."

From here on, for simplicity I will call all the agencies of state authority, government bodies and institutions, and other institutions, enterprises and organizations "offices." In regulating linguistic relations in offices, the draft Law on Language applied a principle that was not declared directly in the articles but which permeates the entire bill. This principle consists in the fact that in choosing the language of intercourse the institution meets the citizen halfway and the superior reaches out to his subordinate. The corresponding articles are aimed directly at establishing a favorable moral climate and it would be ideal if they achieved their objective as soon as possible. The mentioned principle opposes and must oppose above all the traditional bureaucratic approach that the citizen must experience admiration for the bureaucrat. But it also goes against the sometimes manifested tendency for people of different nationalities to associate with one another only in a particular language prescribed by law. We must understand and realize that the legislative prescription of the language of intercourse on the basis of the nationality to which the associating sides belong is just as incompatible with true internationalism.

The offices themselves are a very important part of public life and for the further normal development of the Estonian language it is essential to restore its status as the language for business correspondence. The draft Law on Language, especially its most recent wording again refined at the suggestion of the deputies and not just the deputies, provides a flexible and realistic opportunity for this. Archives and the works of historians indicate that Estonian became the language of official institutions and legal procedures in Estonia on 9 November 1917 under our calendar, that is, immediately after the Bolshevist soviets seized power from the provincial administration. Even then, benevolence toward other languages was in principle set forth in the same form as it appears in contemporary Soviet constitutions. At that same historical stage, the Estonian language was propagated as the language of instruction throughout Estonia. In the eyes of the Estonian people, all of this was then and to this day has remained a paramount revolutionary achievement. It must be defended and guarded.

I remind you once again that the Law on Language is perhaps only one of the least significant measures promoting the progress of perestroyka in the Estonian SSR. It does not act by itself but in combination with all the other measures to follow, among which extremely important places belong to the restructuring of the economy, much more effective environmental protection and other known courses of action. Under today's conditions, real success can be guaranteed only by all the measures of perestroyka together, for each of them contributes to the success of the others. Nothing will take place suddenly here; only persistence and continuity over many years and generations will show results.

In the discussion of the Law on Language, there was a good deal of concern shown about the fate of Russian-language education in Estonia. I ask for understanding that this concern was evoked only by the wording of some positions in the first version, more precisely by the fact that they were interpreted in a biased way. It is probably absolutely impossible to compose a text in which no one could find even a hint of something that the author of the text did not intend to include in it. In polishing the wording of the Law on Language, nevertheless, an attempt was made to formulate it so that it would leave no room for biased interpretations. This applies to the positions involving questions having to do with education, science, culture and others.

After 7 December 1988, suggestions on amendments were introduced, about which Deputy Sillari, chairman of the Commission on Legislative Proposals, will report to us. At first glance, it seems, there are many of them. A significant part of them, however, are purely editorial or relate, in a manner of speaking, to minor corrections pursuing the objective of avoiding an incorrect interpretation of the text through a change in the wording. The basic corrections were made in accordance with your

own suggestions and we can say that these amendments do not contradict the decree passed on 7 December, which recognized the fundamental acceptability of the draft Law on Language.

Honored deputies!

The day of the election of people's deputies of the USSR is approaching. In this connection, the CPSU Central Committee Plenum adopted an Appeal to the Party and Soviet People on 10 January. The appeal gives a party assessment of the course of perestroyka. I am certain that all adherents of perestroyka approved this appeal in their hearts.

We have recently been talking a lot about the expansion of rights and cost accounting in the union republics as well as about the language question. It is with a feeling of profound satisfaction that we read in the appeal that in the coming years there will be a significant expansion of the rights of the republics and that their sovereignty will be strengthened. Cost accounting will put the independence and mutual responsibility of the republics on a solid foundation and will put an end to the imposition of the will of departments. Each republic will have greater possibilities for the independent resolution of the urgent questions in the economy and social area, culture and language, the historical heritage and the conservation of nature in our land, which is not simply an ecological environment for the people who have lived there for thousands of years but also a cradle and a refuge.

The appeal stresses that perestroyka must be defended but that the main thing is that it must be developed energetically and systematically.

Today, in discussing the draft Law of the Estonian SSR on Language, we need to do this prudently and with a great sense of responsibility. Let everyone give a personal example of consolidation. Let our deputies proceed on the basis that only together and unanimously will the inhabitants of Estonia be able to implement the program of perestroyka outlined by the party, a program for life today and tomorrow that expresses the hopes and dreams of the people.

*Report on Debate, Draft Changes

WA18000508 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 3

[Report by Deputy E. Pyldroos, chairman of the working group on the Law on Language under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] The working group on the Estonian language has worked very intensively in recent days. We find that the version that has now been distributed to the delegates essentially coincides with what we came up with at the last session. The principal amendments are editorial in nature. They make it possible to make the text more precise, to avoid ambiguities, and to give the text more juridical exactness and make it less vulnerable. Serious changes were made only to individual articles. There have indeed been fervent and serious debates about them in recent days. Participating in them were our working group, the Commission on Legislative Proposals and, finally, the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. In the course of the discussion between our working group and the Commission on Legislative Proposals, one side repeatedly made proposals and the other rejected or changed them. We sought to reconcile different opinions and ultimately we reached agreement on almost all questions except perhaps two problems about which I will inform you. Perhaps the most significant change relates to Article 4, in which Part 2 was removed from the original text. The working group thought that the idea expressed in this part should still be recorded. Nevertheless, the recommendations expressed in Part I are compulsory and must serve as the basis for whether or not a person can work. We agree that the formulation may have been put in the wrong section of the law. At our suggestion, the corresponding addendum was included in Article 37. To be sure, this addendum was only a few words in its second part, where it points out the compulsory nature of these requirements in the signing of labor contracts and certification. Indeed, this requirement is set forth here in a somewhat different context than before. Previously it was formulated at the level of a law but now it will be formulated at the level, as it were, of a following act and requirements set by the Council of Ministers. It is obvious that in such a form it is more precise juridically and less vulnerable. Yesterday morning we discussed whether or not we had lost anything in so doing or weakened anything in the law. And we could not find a single practical point about which we could say that here something has become weaker or on the basis of which one could speak of a weakening. We agreed with the version in question and presented it to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, which accepted it.

Major changes were made to articles 12 and 36, where the proposal made by Deputy Yu. Aare at the last session is taken into account.

It may be that the most arguments were evoked by Article 18 on legal procedures. The version presented by E.-A. Sillari is the one that existed yesterday prior to being submitted to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The Supreme Soviet Presidium made the amendment about which E.-A. Sillari spoke. It is not in the text that we have. Previously, in the course of discussion, it was in the form in which it came from the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Such an exposition does not satisfy the working group. It is apparent that we have a particular opinion now as well. If we utilize the formulation "In the Estonian SSR, business correspondence and legal procedures are conducted in Estonian or...in the language of the majority of the population in the respective places," that is precisely what is actually written in the constitution of the Estonian SSR. In such a case, however, this would make it possible in Tallinn, for example, to convert completely to legal procedures in Russian at the

will of the courts. For there is no indication of who determines the language of the majority of the population there. We were told that until now there have not been any problems in legal procedures. We believe that this is indeed the case and we hope that in the future as well we will be able to have complete trust in judges and the court system. Nevertheless, such a possibility should not be left in the law, because we must all proceed from the principle that every citizen of the Estonian SSR has the right to have legal procedures in his interests conducted in the Estonian language rather than through an interpreter. This is why we added the words that are in the texts that you received: "...with the consent of the persons participating in the case." In the course of the session of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, attention was paid to the fact that the concept "persons participating in the case" is quite elastic and in practice can lead to rather great difficulties. It may be that this is correct and that the criticism of this formulation by the Supreme Soviet Presidium was justified. I think that the editing commission must take another look at this matter and try to find a wording that is free from defects. This must be feasible.

Differences also remain in the approaches to Article 19. E.-A. Sillari mentioned that the Supreme Soviet Presidium suggested to the editing commission that it improve the wording further. What does this matter involve? Why is the question of education in the Russian and Estonian languages seemingly presented here in different proposals and in a different version? It means that when in the previous version we formulated the position that the Estonian SSR provides for education in the Estonian language throughout its territory, we thereby wanted to say the following: there are many regions in Estonia where the Estonian-speaking population is disappearing. To halt this process and make it possible to restore the Estonian-speaking population, it is necessary that even in those regions where there are not enough children for a full school, teaching should still be in Estonian when the classes are only half their normal size or even smaller. It was for this reason that the concept "throughout its territory" was introduced, which means even where the Estonian-speaking population is declining. There was no other meaning here. The fact that the question of education in the Estonian and Russian languages is stated in different ways may indeed evoke different and not very opportune interpretations. It is possible that this wording should be further polished, but I still believe that this idea needs to be preserved in the law, perhaps in some other exposition. We are also expecting suggestions from deputies, for a controversial situation has arisen here.

Vlasov Attends RSFSR Cooperatives Congress

PM2302155589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Great Work Ahead"]

[Text] Delegates to the Ninth RSFSR Consumer Cooperatives Congress, which took place in Moscow 20-21 February, outlined ways to further develop consumer cooperatives.

The congress urged all cooperative workers to join actively in restructuring and raise the consumer cooperative system to a qualitatively new level on the basis of economic initiative, enterprise, democratization, and glasnost.

The resolution adopted noted the need to master the new economic mechanism, actively introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress and progressive experience, and increase cooperative workers' contribution to solving the food problem, improving the population's services, and expanding the services sphere.

The congress instructed the boards of the RSFSR Union of Consumer Cooperatives and republic (ASSR), kray, oblast, and rayon consumer cooperatives and consumer societies to eliminate the shortcomings in the activity of trade and public catering enterprises and develop this network at preferential rates in rural areas.

It was deemed necessary to broaden foreign economic ties with cooperative workers from socialist and capitalist countries.

It is envisaged that one area of activity for the procurement and processing complex will be to make maximum use of the resources of agricultural products and raw materials from citizens' personal subsidiary plots, horticultural societies, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes and thereby improve the population's food supply.

The congress delegates elected the RSFSR Union of Consumer Cooperatives Council and Auditing Commission.

On the final day of the congress A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, took part in its work.

More on Nikonov Talk With Rural Youth

PM2302104589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDAin Russian 21 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[L. Ulyanova report: "From the Countryside to the Kremlin"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; for further reportage on V.P. Nikonov's meeting at the Komsomol Central Committee, see the 23 February issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 88]

[Excerpts] Young working people from the agro-industrial complex came to Moscow from the most remote rural areas for a meeting at the Komsomol Central Committee. We hope that the discussion between these young people and party and government leaders will be continued at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum and Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin.

More than 300 young men and women traveled to Moscow from the Baltic region, Maritime Kray, Moldavia, the Ukraine, the non-chernozem zone, and Siberia,

from hamlets and villages near and far, to discuss—on the eve of the CPSU Central Committee plenum which will deal with the problems of the agro-industrial complex—their own involvement in the restructuring of this important sector.

Opening the meeting, V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, said: Our discussion will be successful only if it is sincere, frank, and informal. Only then will it produce results. Agreed? Now let me hand you over to V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

V.P. Nikonov: The party Central Committee is meeting in a businesslike atmosphere with groups of party and economic workers, scientists, engineers, designers, and leaseholders. The voice of young people from rural areas and their attitude to problems such as the socioeconomic development of rural areas, the radical change of production relations in close connection with the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and the restructuring of the system for training rural cadres are of great importance in this major discussion.

The Komsomol has many glorious deeds to its credit. But if you look at agriculture, then here, the speaker noted, there are unfortunately still many initiatives that have not been followed firmly and inexorably by action. There is talk of attention to the non-chernozem zone, for example. Meanwhile, the exodus of young people from the region continues. Young people are even leaving villages which have quite good amenities because we are not comprehensively solving all the problems. There is always something somewhere that we omit to do.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee went on to talk in detail about how to increase the results of Komsomol patronage over rural areas. He cited examples of specific farms and regions where the right approach has been found to the problem in question.

Everyone aspires to possess the sum of such human qualities as strength, will, reason, honesty, and decency. It is easier for young people to attain this harmony of qualities. And while the fire is burning in your souls, it should be used to warm those around you, V.P. Nikonov said in conclusion. [Passage omitted]

V. Bobkov, leader of the A.V. Chayanov experimental youth laboratory in Pskov Oblast, mounted the rostrum: Some 160,000 hectares have fallen out of use in Pskov Oblast. That is a terrible figure. We are losing the fertility of our lands. There must be a master on the land. But there can be no master without a farm. Today the "Dulovskiy" Sovkhoz makes a loss according to the plan. This is shameful, painful, it corrupts the farm's labor collective. Perhaps the sovkhoz should not exist in that form but become a lease collective?

V.P. Nikonov: If we hand over the entire sovkhoz to your laboratory, will you be director of the sovkhoz? You will organize this. We will support you on all sides. Agreed?

We have learned to make sharp criticisms but we do not know how to develop constructive proposals. We have 1,400 such farms. Let us agree: They cease to exist and, via the Komsomol, become associations of lease collectives. Will you take the sovkhoz in that case?

V. Mironenko: Take it! They are giving you a whole sovkhoz, Vladimir, so take it and get to work! [Passage omitted]

The floor was then given to A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate: The Soviet Army has pledged to build roads in the RSFSR non-chernozem zone. Some 80,000 people are now working on this. Our road construction units must lay 20,000 km of good quality roads by 1995.

Let us all show concern for these units. So that they are ensured good labor organization. So that roads are planned in good time. And so that the material resources needed by these units are also delivered in good time. The rest is up to us. And we promise that we will work conscientiously.

And another thing—young men will be coming. I think they will find brides. It would be good if even half of these young men were to marry! Let 40,000, say, settle down in the villages. This will be the influx that rural areas need so badly today. Clearly this is also a concern. Concern to ensure that joint recreation with the military units is well organized. That there is no dividing line, this is yours, this is ours, you must do this, and we must do that. That we live as one big happy family.

N. Denisov, machine operator at the "Borba" Kolkhoz in Gorkiy Oblast and candidate for people's deputy from the Komsomol: I would like to ask the Komsomol Central Committee a question: Is it really impossible to organize tourist trips abroad for farm leaders, specialists, and leaseholders? To see how agriculture is flourishing there, as it now is in Sweden or Holland, for example. I personally would like to visit the United States. I would be very interested to know how American farmers manage: They have less equipment than we do but their agricultural output is far greater. I personally feel that we have aimed for quantity long enough, Comrades. We need good-quality equipment!

V. Mironenko: Back when I was working in the Ukraine, I remember how an American delegation came to visit us once—we took them down to the farm and asked them: "What surprises you most of all?" They replied: "You know, what surprises us most of all is that you are rather strange people: We try to put a roof over our equipment but you just fence it off, for some reason."

Olya Vershinina, secretary of the Kumeny Secondary School Komsomol organization and commissar of a student production team from Kirov Oblast, was possibly the youngest participant in the meeting. But the problems she raised in her speech were very adult: There is a joint Komsomol-youth detachment of livestock raisers in our rayon. There have been detachments like these in the oblast for 10 years now. After they leave the 10th grade, young women go to work in these detachments. But this kind of work has now begun to decline. Then a rumor suddenly started up. One girl went to work in a livestock raising detachment, traveled abroad, married a foreigner, and is now living without a care in the world. After this five young women immediately joined the detachment.

They started work and encountered difficulties: There was no proper equipment on the farms, no facilities, and the mud was terrible. They had to carry straw around themselves and they were cold. So, after working there for a year without traveling anywhere, the girls left and put others off joining the detachment. So now things are in decline again. Marrying a foreigner is not the point, of course. It is simply that the farms must be mechanized, they really must. Then more young women would want to work on them.

V. Gavrilenko, chairman of the 20th CPSU Congress Kolkhoz in Krasnodar Kray and vice president of the recently formed Association of Young Leaders, dwelt on the problems of introducing the lease contract in his speech: The main thing is to avoid extremes, violence, and coercion. The peasants will decide for themselves what they need. Associations of primary cooperatives which will essentially be joint-stock companies can be formed within the framework of the present kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Agricultural enterprises are still losing a great deal from incompetent interference. Overall, the change of name for the Ministry of Agriculture has produced nothing, because it has not provided for any radical change in this body's functions. The Gosagroprom is still trying to administer and issue edicts. I will endeavor to be brief: The Gosagroprom in its present form must ultimately cease to exist. Enterprises will themselves create the service they need.

N. Kharitonov, director of the "Galinskiy" Sovkhoz in Novosibirsk Oblast, began with bitter irony: People in our country say that, though we launch satellites, we neglect agriculture. To continue my specific discussion, I will quote a few figures for Novosibirsk Oblast to show you how we live and work today: Rural areas are short of some 200 teachers, 20 villages do not have stores, there are sovkhozes which are brought bread only 2 or 3 times a week, and 187 farms do not have proper surfaced roads.

I became director of a farm which had just over R2 million in production funds in 1976. Today our farm has more than R10 million.

Some of you will smile at this, perhaps, but I am an inveterate sports enthusiast, so to speak. When I came to the farm, some of the leaders said that I would do better to learn to milk a cow and give up my skiing and my soccer, but I said in self-defense that we will never be able to raise peasants without a physical grounding, without fitness. We are given an example of such a leaseholder—and I am sure you will support me in this—by the writer Daniel Defoe in his book "Robinson Crusoe," when Crusoe grows a whole field from one small grain, because he had no one else to rely on, he expected no assistance, and no one was checking up on him. That is how we should work! [Kharitonov ends]

We have tried to give a report of the meeting with as little editing as possible in order to show its really informal atmosphere, the passion of the participants' opinions and judgments, and the young people's ardent interest in reviving villages and enhancing the Komsomol's contribution to solving the food problem and restructuring the agro-industrial complex. Now is the time, as many of the participants in the meeting said, to roll up our sleeves when we get back from the capital and, together with our comrades at work, to get down to business with even greater vigor— every-day, important, urgent business.

Nikonov Interview on Food Production

LD1902112489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 17 Feb 89

[From the "View" Program]

[Text] The Komsomol Central Committee held a meeting with representatives of the country's rural youth on 17 February. Taking part in the meeting was Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. There was discussion of the need today for a sharp turnabout of the whole of society and particularly of young people towards the countryside. It is necessary to restore the link between man and the land and respect for the profession of grain producer. Viktor Petrovich Nikonov gave an interview to a correspondent of the View Programs.

[Begin recording] [Nikonov] What we do, whatever important plans we draw up, if you young people do not support us today, let me tell you straight that you will live very poorly tomorrow.

[Correspondent] We.

[Nikonov] You.

[Correspondent] We.

[Nikonov] You.

[Correspondent] All the same, I think that it applies to all of us.

[Nikonov] Because our generation, in accordance with the natural biological laws, cannot be eternal. And now we are producing not such a small amount of produce—3,480 calories [not further specified] according to the calculations of the international food and agriculture organization. This daily food ration falls 27 percent short in terms of animal protein, i.e. meat. In specific terms, we are short 10 kg of meat per person per year. Everyone shares the blame for these 10 kg—the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, economic organizations. We are greatly to blame. Not because we have not managed to produce this meat. The peasants helped to greatly increase production in other sectors and solved so many other problems. No, we are to blame because we have been unable to distribute this consumption equally.

Shortages give rise to speculation. Speculation gives rise to social injustice. And when you on "View" report various sensational things, saying just look at this, you should go a bit deeper. You should not just show the consequences but you should find the reasons. At present, 40 percent of our population... [Nikonov changes thought] if you know this shop assistant and someone else knows another shop assistant, if you have an acquaintance in public catering, as they say, then you will get your share of everything, your full share, this way. But the other section of the population does not have this opportunity. And this gives rise to the social injustice for which we really bear responsibility. It is necessary to find measures to eliminate such negative phenomena which spoil people's moods. The tasks involved are very major and important; they are tasks connected with restructuring and they cannot be fully resolved. You on "View" look at people and how they behave; look not at their words but their intentions. And from the people who have spoken today we have felt that bureaucracy in the contemporary environment cannot be totally eliminated. Because a person grows up and gets himself into a position to recommend, teach, and advise others. But when we propose: Here is the farm, here are all the opportunities, here are the tractors, here are the harrows, here are the cows, here are the milking machines, tomorrow we shall supply computers, we shall introduce all sorts of different equipment, and you have vast strength, take them. At the same time we said, let us get on with it. It will be a hard struggle, but we must go into the struggle using all our strength. But some people are already trying to find for themselves a quiet backwater. We must find the strength in ourselves and pass it on to others in order to rise up to resolve this problem.

And I repeat that our food provision has given rise to shortages and has given rise, to a large extent, to social injustice. What are you doing, you who work on this very popular program, "View"? People will be looking to see what sort of people you are when there are 310 million people.

[Unidentified voice] When you hand over to the youngsters?

[Nikonov] Yes. One gentleman hands over to the next.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Viktor Petrovich.... As the saying goes, the criticism was received with gratitude.

[Nikonov] No. Do not be such a wise guy, you are too young for that.

[Laughter] [end recording]

Moscow Sweep Nets 2,763 Criminal 'Speculators'

PM2202121789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by G. Ovcharenko: "Speculators 'Within the Law'"]

[Text] Moscow—I could not understand why they were delaying, why they did not catch them red-handed.

"Quiet, quiet," Valeriy Kazakov kept saying as we watched them bring the rolls of scarce, ready-pasted wallpaper to a man in a leather coat who was placing them in a container. A middle-aged woman was also busy. It later turned out that they were a couple, cooperative workers from Armenia. Let them settle up and disperse.... Then we go in!

While the 30-year-old man who had just casually stuffed a wad of notes into his pocket behaved calmly on being detained, even greeting the militiamen with a smile, his "colleague," taken by surprise, began kicking up a row and bit Valeriy's hand. He was a real handful to get into the vehicle....

That is just one incident from the large-scale antispeculation operation mounted by the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, which ended yesterday. During it 2,763 law-breakers were detained on Saturday alone.

They behaved in different ways. When we were with senior officer Viktor Peretokin of the Cheremushkinskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, we even had to send for an ambulance for a woman who sold a pair of women's boots with a R30 markup near the "Yadran."

"Do believe me," she entreated, "this is the first time I've done this. The boots did not suit me, I went to the commission store, I wasted almost a day there, but they valued the boots—which have never been worn—at less than they were worth. I decided to sell them privately. And it was the customer, not I, who suggested the price."

It would appear to be the truth. Those who have tried know that selling things via the commission store is not only a waste of time, but that the terms are crippling and the seller's opinion is of virtually no significance in setting the price. And people are obliged to go directly from the commission store to an ordinary one, where the item will be torn out of your hands and people will, moreover, pay over the odds. And like this weeping woman, not everyone is able to refuse a "markup."

"But you were aware that this this is a breach of the law, that reselling industrial goods privately is forbidden?"

Here reply was a mixture of tears and a childlike plea: "This is the first and last time. Do forgive me...."

Those detained by Valeriy Kazakov and his comrades at the household goods store on Zvezdnyy Bulvar (they sold a roll of ready-pasted wallpaper worth R13.50 for R25) behaved differently. The older one, who is, incidentally, a member of the CPSU, has a higher education, and works at a cold store combine as a foreman handyman (more accurately, senior janitor) initially pretended to be drunk and then ill, denied everything, and tore up the charge sheet. The younger man continued smilingly and good-naturedly to play the innocent. However, literally a month earlier he had been arrested at that same household goods store and been charged with large-scale speculation. And he was up to it again....

"A rare case?" I asked V. Vasilyev, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation:

"If only it were," Vladimir Abdualiyevich sighed. "Relapses are commonplace among those who come under our surveillance. Particularly among those who sell privately and engage in minor speculation."

For your information: In Moscow alone last year more than 43,000 law-breakers had administrative proceedings instituted against them for illegal private trade and minor speculation. Many of them were arrested several times. O. Sakharova, an inhabitant of Babushinskiy Rayon, was arrested for private trading...53 times!

Such zeal derives from impunity. What risk is there if Sakharova is arrested? At most a R10 fine. And that is exacted only by a neighborhood administrative commission within 2 months. If you take into account that you cannot convey a private trader to the commission store by force and that almost 30 percent of all those involved in this business in Moscow are from out of town, it works out that Sakharova and her ilk go virtually unpunished.

On Saturday the operations group, while I was present, detained for selling a bottle of French perfume a woman called Aliyeva from Kirovabad. They had not had time to draw up the papers on her for the administrative commission before she was again brought in to the militia station for selling another bottle of perfume.

"And what else can you do to me?" she asked. "Bye."

And I have no doubt that this meeting between Aliyeva and the militia takes place regularly. Because even if she returns to Baku, voluntarily attends a session of the administrative commission, and hands over the money due it will make no difference, because her income will far exceed the cost of fines.

It is clear that administrative and criminal proceedings alone will not stop the speculators—those parasites on the body of an ailing economy. The ideal solution is to get rid of the shortage so that the goods pursue the customer rather than the other way round. But can one really observe from the sidelines until then these smart operators, large and small, exploiting shortages to fleece the people?! Is the law really powerless?

"The existing law is," in the opinion of Militia Major General N. Sobol, first deputy chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation. "That is why we have made proposals which will make it possible to take speculators in hand to the court.

Nikolay Pavlovich and other practical workers I spoke with during the raid think, in particular, that the fines for private trading should be increased to R30, with R100 for a repeat offense, and confiscation of the goods in both instances. They propose confiscating the goods from the seller even in cases of small-scale speculation.

"You are going to do what!?" exclaimed indignantly one of those detained, on learning of the plan. "It would be better to go to work!"

Incidentaly, one-fifth of all those detained last year for private trading and small- and large-scale speculation do not work anywhere, while many are employed by enterprises and organizatiuons on paper only.

But private trading and small-scale speculation, although they do serious harm to the economy and people, are nevertheless relatively innocuous when compared with organized criminal groups. By skillfully searching out legal loopholes, they have found the means to avoid criminal responsibility.

It was not for nothing that I described at the beginning of this report how the operational workers waited until the speculators had bought the item, sold it, and made a profit, because under the existing law a corpus delicti exists only if all three stages of speculation are demonstrated. But criminals are not fools. They now act in groups where the roles are clearly defined: One negotiates a price for the scarce item, another takes it, a third finds a buyer, a fourth transports the item, a fifth sells,

and a sixth shares out the profit. And they try to space these operations out. So it works out that not a single one of them can be punished for pure speculation.

So why not, first, lay down crimiminal responsibility for speculation carried out by prior arrangement by a group of people and, second, not regard the corpus delicti in such acts as the buying up of goods on a particularly large scale, or their resale?

Here it is up to the legislators to act.

And another thing: In 1988 the militia discovered goods and foodstuffs stashed away within the Moscow trade system worth R9.4 million. And in January of this year alone the figure is already R6 million. Where do these goods disappear to? Just one case: The deputy director of a food store issued 1,600 kg of buckwheat from a subsidiary enterprise to an "acquaintance." Incidentally, we saw many of the goods that are kept in subsidiary premises but not found on the store counters among private traders during the raid.

But here is the paradox: If a salesperson gives you 5 grams under weight, he can be held accountable. But a store director who conceals a tonne of sausages from the customer cannot be, if personal gain on his part is not demonstrated. If he knew that he could be personally fined around R200 for it and lose his job, he would clear the shortage on the store counter pretty fast.

...Late Saturday evening I took stock of the day with V. Vasilyev. Of course, around 3,000 law-breakers detained in one day is an impressive figure. But criminal charges can only be brought against 19 percent of them.

"The big fish have escaped the net?"

"Of course," the deputy chief of the Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation agreed. "It is difficult to keep the wraps on such a large-scale operation. But it is not the first, nor the last. At least we have scared the speculators off for a while. They should appreciate that we will not let them rest."

...And yet the raid left an ambiguous impression. Such actions are certainly necessary. But clear, principled legislation that takes account of the fact that speculation is changing and becoming more organized is still necessary. And it is even more important that industry finally spare us the demeaning pursuit of scarce goods. The speculators' unpunished march will then be halted.

TIME Magazine To Go on Sale in Exchange Deal

LD2202155189 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—The U.S. magazine TIME will soon appear on news stands in the Soviet Union, a Soviet official told TASS.

Leonid Alfimov, chairman of the Soviet Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga firm, said that up until now TIME magazine was available only in some Soviet libraries.

"We have agreed with the European service of the U.S. publishers Time Life International in Amsterdam that 1,000 copies of the magazine will be delivered in exchange for the SPUTNIK Soviet press digest and the political weekly NEW TIMES," he said.

"Foreign magazines and newspapers are not widely sold in the Soviet Union because of lack of hard currency. Exchange deals could boost Western mass media sales in the USSR. Our firm is now discussing this question with companies in France, the United States and West Germany," he said.

Fourteen West European newspapers are now on sale in the USSR, according to Alfimov. Japanese periodicals are soon expected to appear on stands here as well.

Scientific

'Mir' Trajectory Altered, Medical Checks Set

LD2402125189 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the flight control centre:

Aleksander Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing their flight on board the orbital complex "Mir". Regular filming of different regions of the USSR are being carried out in keeping with the vast programme for studying the earth's natural resources and exploring the environment. Filmed today will be separate areas of the Ukraine, the Central black-soil belt, the Volga basin and the republics of Central Asia. Information from outer space will be used to determine the state of winter crops.

Several studies have been carried out under the programme of medical control. The cardiovascular systems of cosmonauts have been checked thoroughly. Planned for today are measurements of their body masses, investigation of muscles which are underloaded in conditions of weightlessness. Furthermore, the crew commander will be subjected to electrocardiological investigation under the doctor's supervision. The board engineer will be busy preparing the equipment for forthcoming experiments.

The flight trajectory was corrected this morning by means of the "Progress-40" automatic vehicle's propelling unit. Now the orbit of the piloted "Mir" complex is: Maximum distance from the earth's surface—386 km, minimum—358 km, rotation period—91.7 min., inclination—51.6 degrees.

Baklanov Inspects Thermonuclear Installation

LD2302113789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Scientists believe that the energy resulting from the fission and fusion of the nuclei of atoms is the most promising source of all methods of obtaining energy. In our country the Kurchatov Nuclear Energy Institute is responsible for resolving these tasks. This large scientific center was formed in 1943 and, as is known, was able to resolve a problem of vital importance for our country in a very short space of time and at a high scientific and technical level: the development of homemade nuclear weapons as a counterbalance to the United States. After this the institute's scientists put forward the initiative for the peaceful use of atomic energy and launched vigorous research in this sphere. It is precisely here that the ideas of creating powerful atomic icebreakers, atomic power stations, and heat supply stations of atomic power-technological complexes were born.

On 21 February CPSU Central Committee Secretary Baklanov inspected Tokomak-15, our country's largest thermonuclear installation, at the Kurchatov Institute. Its development will make it possible to conduct research in the sphere of controlled nuclear fusion at a higher level. He familiarized himself with work on high-temperature superconductivity.

Academicians Velikhov, Kadomtsev, Ponomarev, Stepnoy, Belyayev, and other scientists told him of the collective's work.

Comrade Baklanov noted the exceptional importance of ensuring the guaranteed safety of atomic power engineering as the main condition of its social acceptability. It is a matter not only of improving in this area the existing types of nuclear AES reactors, but also of developing new ones with safety attributes that are organically inherent in them. Thoughts were voiced regarding the necessity of a substantial broadening and raising of the effectiveness of international cooperation in the sphere of nuclear power engineering, of improving the work of the institute's collective in the conditions of restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary acquainted himself in detail with the plans for the collective's further social development and for the organization of the work and daily life of the staff members.

Military

Meetings, Speeches, Articles Mark Army-Navy Day

Top-Level Moscow Meeting

PM2402165289 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Our correspondent report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people and the servicemen of the capital's garrison was held in the Soviet Army Central Academic Theater on 22 February.

On the presidium were L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Army General M.A. Moiseyev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General P.G. Lushev, and Army General K.A. Kochetov; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; USSR Deputy Defense Ministers Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, Army General I.M. Tretyak, Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, Army General V.M. Arkhipov, Colonel General N.V. Chekov, and Army General D.S. Sukhorukov; marshals of categories of troops, generals, admirals, and officers, as well as leading workers from a number of ministries and departments and representatives of party and soviet organs.

The ceremonial meeting was opened by Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Those present were addressed by Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

Soviet servicemen were congratulated on the holiday by V.S. Gusev, fitter at the "Znamya Revolyutsii" plant; A.I. Golyakov, first deputy chairman of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans; and V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

The ceremonial meeting was followed by a festive concert.

Moiseyev Reception for Officers, Attaches

PM2702090489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In Honor of the Anniversary"]

[Text] On 23 February Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, held a reception to mark the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The reception was attended by generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations.

Among the guests were Army, Navy, and Air Force attaches to foreign states' embassies.

The reception took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Moiseyev Speech

LD2402102889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1455 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Address by Army General Mikhail Alekseyevich Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff, USSR first deputy minister of defense, marking Soviet Army and Navy day; Moiseyev shown seated in dress uniform—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades: Today the Soviet people are marking the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces. For more than 7 decades they have vigilantly guarded the gains of the October Revolution, socialism and peace, and reliably protected the creative work of Soviet people. Their heroic history is the history of the selfless service of their socialist fatherland. In the years of the civil war, and particularly of the Great Patriotic War, the high moral and combat qualities of the Soviet Army as a new type of army and its indestructible nature were revealed to the full. The Soviet Armed Forces withstood with honor all the very severe ordeals that befell them. In brutal battles with the enemy, the servicemen of the Army and Navy displayed miracles of bravery and supreme heroism. Through their titanic efforts the Hitlerite military machine was reduced to ashes, fascism was utterly defeated, and World War II was halted.

In the postwar period the Soviet Armed Forces, shoulder to shoulder with the armies of the Warsaw Pact participant states, have been defending peace and socialism reliably, and have been effectively holding back aggressive forces from adventuristic attempts at social revanchism. Their role as the guarantors of peace, progress, and the freedom and security of peoples is coming out increasingly clearly.

This year the Soviet Army and Navy Day is being marked by the working people of our country, servicemen and veterans of the Soviet Armed Forces in conditions of restructuring, the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, and the consistent implementation by our party of the strategic course toward improving the international situation and strengthening peace. The new political thinking, at the basis of which are a sober regard for the present-day political and military realities, recognition of the priority of values common to all mankind, the inadmissability of war, and the pointlessness of the arms race is having an increasing impact on the development of world political processes, and is promoting the overcoming of cold war sterotypes and an active search for a sensible balance of interests.

Recently our party put forward a number of major peace initiatives directed at relaxing international tension and reducing the level of military confrontation between sides. At the same time, in accordance with the Soviet defensive military doctrine, new approaches were drawn up relating to guaranteeing the country's defense, with a transfer in defense construction and the development of the Armed Forces principally to qualitative parameters, and the principal of rational and reliable defense sufficiency.

The 19th All-Union Party Conference approved this course and it is now being implemented in practical terms. The fulfillment of the historic Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles paved the way to true nuclear disarmament. A mandate for talks on a reduction in conventional armaments and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals has now been agreed and adopted.

The full withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which was completed on 15 February and was carried out in precise conformity with the Geneva accords, is a vivid testimony to our good will. As was noted in the address of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, the Soviet servicemen fulfilled their patriotic and internationalist duty in a worthy manner.

The Soviet Government's decision on a unilateral reduction in its Armed Forces by 500,000 men, on a reduction in its military budget by 14.2 percent, and a reduction in the production of military equipment and armaments by 19.5 percent is further convincing proof of the Soviet Union's inexorable determination to advance along the road of strengthening international stability and the implementation of the principles of the new political thinking.

The structure of the Soviet Armed Forces is also being changed. The former correlation between offensive and defensive weapons is being elaborated by a grouping of troops and naval forces.

Already this year the Soviet Union will be withdrawing a considerable number of its troops, primarily tank units, from forward areas in the zone of close contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. A strike aviation unit, ground-assault formations [desantno-shturnovyye formirovaniya], assault-crossing units, and other means will be redeployed from the territory of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The combined-arms division remaining on the territories of our allies are being reformed into a defensive structure.

Supporting our new peace initiatives, the other Warsaw Pact countries are also unilaterally reducing their Armed Forces and military expenditure. All this convincingly reaffirms the sincere nature of the peace policy of the Soviet state and the other Warsaw Pact member-states. Decisions have been adopted not to endanger the security of the USSR and our allies. They are based on thoroughly weighed appraisals of the military-political situation which has developed and the potential of the Warsaw Pact member-states in ensuring their reliable defense.

Alongside our allies, we are ready to proceed further and to strive for a profound reduction in troops and armaments in Europe, on a mutual basis, up to a level whereby no side would possess the power and the means for a surprise attack. But this, of course, does not just depend on ourselves.

Unfortunately, the Western powers have still not renounced their attempts to acquire unilateral advantages for themselves. The United States of America and the other NATO countries are still not planning to scrap any of their military-technical programs. On the contrary, measures are being taken to continue them. The broad modernization of strategic nuclear forces is being implemented. Work on creating new B-2 Stealth strategic bombers, which cannot be picked up by radar and therefore are capable of inflicting surprise offensives, is in full swing.

Surface vessels and submarines continue to be equipped with longer-range cruise missiles. Work on the Star Wars program does not cease. The Pentagon is currently actively publicizing a new concept of military rivalry and a strategy of competition, openly designed to undermine the strategic stability by means of creating—on the basis of new technologies—such weapons and equipment systems which, it believes, would cost the Soviet Union several times more effort [usiliya] and equipment to counteract. But life has more than once demonstrated the illusion of such hopes.

The continuing wide-scale exercises and the active military preparations being carried out in NATO's West European countries also continue to give rise to serious anxiety. That is why Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations, emphasized: We will maintain the country's defense capability at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency so that no one should be tempted to encroach upon the security of the USSR and its allies.

The restructuring process is gaining strength in the Armed Forces, just as it is throughout the country. It embraces all aspects of life and activity. Comprising the core of restructuring in the Army and Navy is, first and foremost, the practical implementation of the principles of the defensive Soviet military doctrine, the embodiment of its specific decisions and measures of construction and training of the Armed Forces. Together with this, restructuring also envisages resolutely overcoming the stagnant phenomena in the Army and Navy, organizing the work of military cadres, enhancing their responsibility, and all-round strengthening of its sense of organization and troop discipline. The democratization of the life of servicemen is an important element of restructuring. It manifests itself, first and foremost, in raising the sociopolitical and service activity of servicemen. An atmosphere of genuine mutual respect, trust, and frankness has become established among military personnel. Businesslike criticism and self-criticism is developing. The creative potential of party and komsomol organizations is being revealed more fully.

However, it must be said that not everywhere is restructuring proceeding as swiftly and soundly as one would like. The required quality and necessary organization in the training of Army and Navy troops has still not been attained. Old approaches in combat training are still present. The tasks of strengthening organization and imposing the required order among personnel, and in overcoming negative phenomena in service life are being tackled in a complicated way. But, nevertheless, restructuring is developing, and it is having an ever more beneficial effect on all aspects of the life of the Armed Forces.

In the conditions of glasnost, a broad discussion is proceeding in the press and on radio and television of all the processes which are occurring in the Army and Navy. Soviet people are showing concern that our Armed Forces continue to remain strong and battle-worthy.

But other approaches, oriented in essence toward changes in the basic principles of the formation of the Soviet Armed Forces, are also being put forward. For example, it is being proposed to switch over to a territorial-militia system and to set a course toward forming a hired army. It is even being said that each union republic could have its own national military formations, and even its own army. These arguments, from the point of view of the true interests of strengthening the state's defense capability, are unjustified. With today's complex equipment, ensuring the training of qualified cadres in a transition to a professional hired army is linked with a sharp increase in expenditure on its upkeep. Moreover, our Army should preserve its international character. Here lies the guarantee of the security of the Soviet Union as a whole, and of each union republic, which is a part of it.

Intensive combat training is now under way in the Army and Navy. The field, air, and naval training of the personnel is being perfected all the time. Responding to the constant concern of the Soviet people, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, servicemen of the Armed Forces are working actively at improving their combat skills and are learning to tackle tasks in any conditions or situation.

A most important source of the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces is their inseparable links with the people. All Army and Navy personnel think as one with all Soviet people.

While on their combat watch, Soviet servicemen are at the same time taking an active part in fulfilling many national-economic programs—building the BAM [Baykal-Amur Railroad] and the roads of the Non-Chernozem Zone, doing land improvement work, and bringing in the harvest. They were the first to eliminate

the aftermath of the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan. Always and everywhere they are demonstrating a selfless devotion to their people and the Party, and a loyalty to their service duty.

The Soviet people may be confident of their Armed Forces. Created and educated by the CPSU, the Soviet Armed Forces are worthily justifying their historic destiny. They will continue to serve as a reliable stronghold of peace and security of the peoples, and a true defender of their socialist homeland.

Have a good holiday, dear comrades.

Arkhipov Address

LD2402154989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Address by USSR Deputy Defense Minister Vladimir Mikhaylovich Arkhipov on Soviet Army and Navy Day—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The task of being a reliable guarantor of peace and security has required the implementation of a radical restructuring in our Armed Forces. Its concept was expressed in a sufficiently capacious formula at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The effectiveness of Soviet military construction should be defined primarily by qualitative parameters as regards equipment and military science, and the composition of the Armed Forces strictly in keeping with the defense orientation of our military doctrine.

What positive processes are taking place in our military organism in the course of restructuring? Thinking is being restructured, as is the psychology of the military cadres. Outmoded methods of work are being eliminated, mutual exactingness is being raised, and the self-critical approach to the appraisal of what has been achieved and the desire to seek out new ways of solving existing tasks is becoming more and more noticeable. New approaches have also been defined concerning the coordination of troops and administrative bodies, and the qualitative improvement of all arms and branches of the Soviet Armed Forces. A precise program has been drafted for the further work of strengthening service discipline and the cohesion of the multi-ethnic servicemen's collectives. More attention is being given to the development of the social sphere in the Armed Forces, the creation of favorable conditions for service, combat training, and the daily life of troops. [passage omitted]

Restructuring is being carried out among our troops unambiguously. The negative processes of stagnation could not bypass the Armed Forces. In some places an unobjective assessment of the state of affairs, lack of exactingness, bureaucratism, oversimplification, and gulf between word and deed are still a serious brake. One is also worried by the state of service discipline in a number of smaller and larger units and ships.

The second stage of restructuring of the USSR Armed Forces is the practical stage. This stage should bring our Army and Navy up to a new, qualitative level. [passage omitted]

Yazov Address to Veterans

PM2402165089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Captain 2d Rank S. Ishchenko and Lieutenant Colonel A. Deryabin: "Traditions of Heroism and Courage: Meeting With USSR Armed Forces Veterans"]

[Text] The M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army has seldom seen so many Heroes of the Soviet Union, full holders of the Order of Glory, well- known military leaders, and front-line soldiers as were gathered on 22 February for a meeting between Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, and Armed Forces veterans.

The meeting was opened by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The meeting was addressed on behalf of the veterans by Marshal of Aviation N.M. Skomorokhov, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union; Marshal of Tank Troops O.A. Losik, Hero of the Soviet Union; and Petty Officer V.S. Naldin, retired, holder of the Order of Glory, three classes.

USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov delivered a warm speech to the veterans. He expressed cordial gratitude to them for their loyalty to military duty, selfless service to the Motherland in the ranks of the Armed Forces, and great personal contribution to the defense of its freedom and independence.

The heroic history of our Army and Navy is reflected in the lives of the veterans, the defense minister noted. These brilliant and heroic deeds and achievements to the glory of the socialist Fatherland bring to life the pages of the combat annals of the Army and Navy: From the formation of the very first Red Army regiments—which had their combat baptism in February 1918 and in the fierce fighting on the East China Railroad, by Lake Khasan, and on the Halhin-Gol River—to our own day.

The most difficult but also the most cherished pages of the heroic annals of our Armed Forces are associated with the Great Patriotic War. The very words "front-line man" are uttered by our people with respect, pride, and gratitude. They are synonymous with selfless devotion to the Motherland, unbending staunchness, high courage, and unparalleled heroism. Every front-line man made his contribution to the great victory in the last war. And every one is worthy of gratitude for his military feat.

The veterans' experience of life and combat is not discharged into the reserves. They pass it on to new generations of defenders of the Fatherland. And with their experience—love of their native land and loyalty to socialist ideals. The day-to-day life of the Army and Navy and the patriotic deeds and achievements of today's servicemen convincingly confirm the unbreakable continuity of the glorious combat traditions of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Calling on the veterans' experience, Army General D.T. Yazov told them about some of the problems being tackled by the Armed Forces at the new stage in their development—the stage of implementation of the principle of defense sufficiency and the paramountcy of qualitative parameters. In order successfully to resolve these problems it is very important to introduce young people to the ideological and political sources of the high moral and political qualities of older generations.

In conditions of revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of Soviet society and the Armed Forces—an integral part of that society—it is necessary to realize as fully as possible all the potential for increasing the effectiveness of the military-patriotic education of Soviet people, strengthening the Army's prestige, establishing among the masses a perception of military service as an honorable obligation and treating the defense of the Fatherland as a sacred duty.

In the great work of renewing society the party counts on the country's gold reserve—the veterans—and their contribution to the resolution of the practical tasks of restructuring and the eduation of new generations of patriots and internationalists.

In conclusion USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov answered numerous questions from participants in the meeting.

Sorokin Interview

LD2402100689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0545 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Interview with Army General Mikhail Ivanovich Sorokin, USSR deputy defense minister and chief inspector, by unidentified correspondent on the occasion of Soviet Army and Navy Day; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Army General, could you remind our listeners briefly about the main events in the Armed Forces history, as someone who has been through the school of war in a big way and who has given approximately a half a century to our Army?

[Sorokin] We all know that the Soviet Armed Forces were created during the harsh February days of 1918. Their setting up and development is inextricably linked with Vladimir Ilich Lenin's name and with the work of the Communist Party. It was soon after the Great October victory that Vladimir Ilich Lenin and the Bolshevik Party had to confront the task, in all its urgency, of defending the Soviet Republic with arms for the first time. At that time, the Soviet side put forward proposals to establish universal, equitable, and democratic peace. They were set out in Lenin's peace decree. International reaction replied to this appeal, however, by launching a crusade in Kaiser's Germany and the Entente countries against the young Soviet Republic. It caused a civil war in our country and did all it could to destroy—through united efforts of foreign and home-based counterrevolutionaries—the workers' and peasants' power, to halt the socialist revolution, to put an end to the very idea of emancipation of the working people. In these most difficult conditions, aware of its responsibility for defending the cause of the revolution and of the fact that the Red Guard workers' squads and the revolutionary soldiers' and sailors' detachments alone were not enough for this, the Bolshevik Party, headed by Vladimir Ilich, set about creating a regular army.

In February 1918, the troops of Kaiser Germany, having violated the armistice, commenced their offensive along the entire line of the front. This came to pose a mortal danger to the Soviet Republic and to revolutionary Petrograd. On 22 February a decree was published—Vladimir Ilich Lenin's appeal, called "The Socialist Fatherland in Danger." The day of 23 February was a memorable one; it was the beginning of the mass enrollment of the working people in the Red Army, of the process of setting up its first units and detachments which were to courageously resist the enemy. That day entered our Motherland's history as a national holiday.

During the years of the Civil War, in fierce combat against numerous enemies, the young Red Army, an army of workers and peasants, came of age. Its combat capability gained strength and its ranks swelled. Many talented commanders and political workers joined the command structure. Among them one can name Frunze, Tukhachevskiy, Yegorov, Uborevich, Blyukher, and Gamarnik. The names of the legendary heroes—Chapayev, Shchors, Parkhomenko, Kotovskiy, Lazo, and other courageous soldiers and commanders—will forever remain in the people's memory.

The victory in the civil war made it possible for the Soviet people to begin peaceful, socialist construction. In the twenties and the thirties, the imperialists repeatedly tried to put the Soviet state's military might to the test, but they were routed time after time.

The Great Patriotic War was our most severe test. You know that the Soviet people bore the brunt of the war and that their Armed Forces made a decisive contribution to the crushing defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, and to the liberation of the peoples of Europe, Asia, and the whole world from enslavement.

The victory gained in the war showed the correctness of Lenin's teachings about the defense of the socialist Fatherland, the superiority of Soviet military science and art of war, and the high standard of strategic leadership and combat mastery of our cadres. During the war years our Armed Forces brilliantly carried out many strategic, front, and Army operations and thousands of battles. The talent of outstanding Soviet commanders—Zhukov, Vasilevskiy, Konev, Rokossovskiy, Malinovskiy, Tolbukhin, Govorov, Bagramyan, Vatutin, Meretskov, Isakov, and other famous marshals and generals—vividly shone through all these. The Soviet soldiers' selfless devotion to the motherland, the party, and the people manifested itself with tremendous vigor. More than 11,000 people were honored with the titles of Hero of the Soviet Union and a total of 7 million soldiers received state awards for having distinguished themselves in battle.

[Sorokin] During the post-war period, taking into account the experience of defeats during the initial stage of the war and of the victorious operations that led to the crushing defeat of Hitlerite Germany's mighty military machine, the Soviet Armed Forces continued to improve themselves and their fighting strength grew.

We always were sincere in our love of peace. Throughout our history, the USSR's Armed Forces developed with this sole aim: to secure a reliable protection for the Soviet people's and our allies' peaceful, creative toil. All the wars that the Soviet Armed Forces waged were forced on us; they were just and they were aimed at defending the socialist Fatherland.

Now, too, at this new stage of history—the period when the Soviet people are implementing peaceful, creative plans and carrying out profound, revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of public life in our country—the personnel of the Soviet Army and Navy are fulfilling this sacred patriotic and internationalist duty.

[Correspondent] Maintaining a high level of combat readiness and ensuring the security of the state is the most important task of the Army—any army. How is this task being tackled at present?

[Sorokin] Yes. This task has always been the chief task as far as the Soviet Armed Forces are concerned. This also goes for the present time. After all, the fact that efforts to make the threat of war recede have succeeded does not at all mean that the threat of aggression against us has already been lifted. We military personnel are responsible for the security of the state, of the people itself, and of our allies. That is why we should be realists and not fall prey to the illusions of peace-making and pacifism.

However, it is clear even to us that there is progressively less and less room in the world at present for policies aimed at attaining military superiority and at solving disputes between states through war.

The deepening of the process of relaxation of international tension, the transition from the principle of being armed to the teeth to the principle of sensible sufficiency for defense have required new approaches toward enhancing the Armed Forces' combat readiness and fighting strength.

The decisions to cut the Armed Forces correspond fully to the Soviet military doctrine's defensive nature. Naturally, the reductions will amount to a considerable proportion of the total potential of the Armed Forces. Suffice it to say that the number of tanks will be cut by 10,000, artillery systems by 8,500, warplanes by 800, and personnel by 500,000 people. Numerous formations and units will be disbanded, to say nothing of the planned structural changes affecting the remaining troops.

We are not, however, giving up our security. We are confining the complement of the Armed Forces and the numbers of their arms to the limits which are strictly commensurate with the extent of the military threat.

Apart from that, in undertaking the reductions of the Armed Forces and arms, we also hope that the countries of the West will follow this. After all, it is impossible to lower the level of military confrontation without observing the principle of reciprocity, equality, and equal security of sides.

For our part, by renouncing a further quantitative build-up of troops and arms, we lay the main emphasis upon the qualitative parameters in military construction—upon bringing into play the reserves to be found within the socialist military organization.

[Correspondent] So, the problem of increasing quality is important also to the Armed Forces. How, specifically, is this reflected?

[Sorokin] It is reflected in practically everything that has a bearing on the construction and development of the Armed Forces.

Take, for instance, the provision of arms and equipment for the troops. The reduction of military production by 19.5 percent—that is to say by a little under one-fifth—means that less of them will reach the troops and the Navy. Combat effectiveness and quality should be more, not less, to ensure that it is possible to resolve tasks with a smaller amount of combat resources more effectively. The same can be said about enhancing the quality of the field, Air Force, and naval training of troops and Navy forces.

[Correspondent] You mentioned this considerable reduction of the Armed Forces. How will this affect the officers' fate? After all, it is obvious that they will include those who have not completed the statutory period of active military service and maybe even those who will have no right to a full pension?

[Sorokin] What happens next to that part of the officer corps subject to cuts is something to which we are not indifferent. There can be no doubt about this. However, this problem will be solved in a specific manner; each officer's case will be treated on an individual basis. This will be done, above all, through discharging those who have completed their statutory active military service period, through a partial and, subsequently, complete renunciation of calling up the reservist officers for 2 years, and also through filling Army vacancies. Young, able-bodied cadres will be retained. Those who have reached the upper age limit in their service but who have no right to pension provisions have been given the opportunity of continuing their service through 1991.

To put it more briefly: We are making use of everything so as to observe fully the principle of social justice. Not a single officer will be forgotten or discharged without a pension.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Ivanovich, with your permission, I will go back to what took place several days ago. The withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan has just been completed. What is your attitude to those who fought in Afghanistan?

[Sorokin] Above all, I want to emphasize yet again that the Soviet soldiers fulfilled with honor their internationalist duty on Afghan soil. More than 70 internationalist soldiers were honored with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union for their courage and heroism. Thus the soldiers, sergeants, and officers gained the love and esteem of our people. This esteem must be strengthened in the future, too. This is our duty.

[Correspondent] Could you say what changes are taking place within the Armed Forces in connection with the expansion of democratization and glasnost?

[Sorokin] The current period in the life of the Soviet Armed Forces is a period of practical work, of intensive, daily work to implement the ideas of restructuring. Democratization of Army life, combined with the strengthening of the principle of sole responsibility of commanders for both military and political matters; the upsurge of social, political, and service activity of servicemen; the enhancement of their interest in the affairs of their subunits, units, and warships; the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual respect, trust, and openness; the development of criticism and self-criticism; and the eradication of instances of formal, bureaucratic, or indifferent attitudes are becoming inalienable features of this work.

In its turn, glasnost makes for a more in-depth investigation and bringing to light of negative phenomena during training and service life, such as instances of indulgent attitude, or of showing off. It helps to realize the intellectual and spiritual potential of personnel and to direct its creative efforts for further improving combat readiness and strengthening military discipline. The changes now taking place are exerting a beneficial influence on the work of the Armed Forces. Positive changes are noted in further improvement of field, Air Force, and naval training, and in mastering new types of arms and fighting equipment. Our country is confidently proceeding along the path mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress.

We have the people and we have the means to protect and defend the peaceful, creative toil, and freedom of the Soviet people and of our friends and allies. There is firm confidence in the historical correctness of the great cause of socialism, springing from the Soviet society's moral and political cohesion, from the enormous economic potential, from the inviolable unity of the party and the people. The Soviet Armed Forces have been standing guard over these gains already for 71 years. I greet you on this holiday, esteemed comrade listeners.

Lushev Interview

AU2302222189 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 22 Feb 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with Army General Petr Lushev, first deputy minister of defense of the USSR and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by Stepan Fedoseyev "through NOVOSTI for NARODNA MLADEZH": "Demand of the Times"—date and place not given]

[Text] Tomorrow [23 February] is Soviet Army and Navy Day. We interviewed Army General Petr Lushev, first deputy minister of defense of the USSR and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, in this connection.

[Fedoseyev] Comrade Army General, what changes are ensuing in the USSR's military policy and the principles of defense building?

[Lushev] There is no doubt that military policy is an integral part of the general policy of our party and state. For this reason, it cannot fail to reflect all the new features that have appeared in the CPSU's military-political strategy following the 27th CPSU Congress.

If we look back, beginning from the fifties, we see that our chief efforts in guaranteeing the country's security were principally directed at overcoming imperialism's superiority in nuclear weapons. Military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States was achieved in the seventies. In fact, this parity was secured at the cost of increasing arms. In so doing, we did not always fully utilize political means, which have, as one can clearly see today, immense potential in the struggle to reduce tension, for achieving greater understanding between peoples and states, and for consolidat[illegible] nternational and national security. On occasion, w[illegible] owed

ourselves to be drawn into an arms race in parallel directions to the United States and NATO, and this frequently was to the detriment of our own economic interests.

With regard to military policy at the present stage, the important turning point in the practical realization of this policy was the adoption of the new defensive Soviet military doctrine and the military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact states.

The new Soviet military doctrine gives a clear answer to the question of how the country's security will be guaranteed in the nuclear and space age, and how the threat hanging over the world of completely disappearing in the crater of the nuclear volcano will be averted. To be more precise, there is only one way—to eliminate force and the threat of the use of force in the sphere of international relations, and to resolve all disputed issues by political means. As well as this, our approaches to defending the country against aggression are under review. It is confirmed that the USSR and the other socialist countries will under no circumstances start either a nuclear or a conventional war against any state whatsoever, in any region of the world, provided that they themselves do not become objects of aggression. The USSR will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. In other words, our military might is primarily directed toward defense against possible aggression from outside, and the Soviet Armed Forces are preparing only to repulse such aggression.

[Fedoseyev] Why did the USSR and the other socialist countries consider it necessary, precisely at this stage, to formulate their new doctrine, stressing its defensive orientation. How does this doctrine differ in principle from the previous doctrines followed?

[Lushev] Politically speaking, the early doctrines also had a defensive orientation. However, the requirements of the time set their stamp, and now the military hardware aspect of the military doctrine has also acquired a defensive character. Our doctrine today represents a system of fundamental views on preventing war, on military construction, on preparing the country and the Armed Forces to repel aggression, and on the methods for waging an armed struggle to defend socialism.

[Fedoseyev] Does this mean that the doctrine is also prompting certain changes in the building of the Armed Forces?

[Lushev] Yes. The doctrine demands that a major change be effected in defense construction, from the principle of being armed to the hilt [svrukhvuoruzhenostta] to the principle of reasonable and reliable defensive sufficiency and giving a defensive character to the organizational structure of the Armed Forces.

An important step in this direction was the Soviet Government's decision on a unilateral 12-percent cut in the strength of its Armed Forces, on a 14.2-percent cut in military expenditure, and on starting the destruction of the chemical weapons' stocks even before the signing of an international convention. Of the 500,000-man reduction in the Army and Navy, 240,000 are in the European part of the USSR, 200,000 in the east, and 60,000 in the south.

The reduction in troops that the USSR is undertaking unilaterally is very large. For example, the reduction in the strength of the Soviet troops is comparable to the entire strength of the FRG Bundeswehr. The tank cuts are equivalent to about 30 U.S. tank divisions, and the 800 aircraft to be cut are equal to the Belgian and FRG Air Forces, taken together.

All this provides convincing proof of the sincerity of the USSR's peace-loving policy, and disproves the claims by Western political and military circles that the declared defensive orientation of our military doctrine is propaganda and is not supported in practice.

[Fedoseyev] What in your assessment are the main results of the restructuring and expansion of democracy and glasnost in the Army and Navy?

[Lushev] The process of restructuring in the Armed Forces is gaining strength and is encompassing more and more new fields. Its core lies in the practical implementation of the requirements of the Soviet military doctrine and in embodying these requirements in specific measures relating to building up and training the Armed Forces. As well as this, the restructuring includes provisions for a new quality of the Armed Forces, for overcoming stagnation phenomena in the life and training of the Army and Navy, activating the work of the military cadres, increasing the sense of responsibility, and resolutely increasing good organization and soldierly discipline.

An important element of restructuring is the democratization in the Army and Navy. This manifests itself, first and foremost, in the upsurge of sociopolitical activity among the servicemen. The ice of indifference and passivity on the part of some of the personnel has been broken. An atmosphere of true mutual respect, trust, and openness is being established within the collectives, and businesslike criticism and self-criticism is developing. The creative potential of the party and Komsomol organizations and of all the creative institutions of the Armed Forces is being revealed to an increasing extent.

Despite certain difficulties, this restructuring is developing and increasingly exerting a favorable effect on all aspects of life, on the combat and political training of the Soviet Armed Forces, and on the strengthening of their close ties with the people.

Lizichev Interview

AU2402163889 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Feb 89 pp 1,4

[Interview with Army General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, through NOVOSTI "specially for NARODNA ARMIYA": "Along the Road of Renewal"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Which factors now define the tasks relating to the construction of the Soviet Armed Forces and the drafting of the new military doctrine?

[Lizichev] We are not rattling our weapons or showing our muscles. What is more, the adoption of the new political thinking and the new Soviet military doctrine reflected the desire of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to turn away from the principle of excessive armaments to that of reasonable defense sufficiency. This is proved yet again by the Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee on the correlation of the strengths of the Armed Forces and armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe and the adjoining waters. However, it must be borne in mind that the trend toward disarmament has not yet become irreversible, and that the deep contradictions and roots of many conflicts have not disappeared. This is why it is our duty to be at constant combat readiness to defend socialism's achievements.

[Question] The whole country is now living with the ideas and tasks of restructuring. How are the processes that have taken hold of society influencing the nature of the activity of the Armed Forces?

[Lizichev] The entire Army is now engaged in intense combat and political training. Everyday Army life is not easy, whether one is serving in the harsh conditions of the Arctic, in the torrid Kara Kum, or in the ocean depths. Many of our boys have passed through the difficult and dangerous school of service in Afghanistan.

Better results in personnel training were demonstrated in the course of command-headquarters and troop exercises, inspections, and on-the-spot checks by the Belorussian, Far East, and Baltic Military Districts; the Soviet Group of Forces in Germany; the Central Group of Forces [in Czechoslovakia]; the Northern and Black Sea Fleets; and the Air Forces.

[Question] As is well-known, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference pointed out that our military construction must be directed toward quality parameters. What do these parameters mean with regard to the specific trends in defense construction?

[Lizichev] In the weapon and combat equipment field, the task is to ensure a transition from the "evolutionary" development of specimens of weapons to the creation of weapons that possess fundamentally new properties and capabilities. The main task of military science is to develop new concepts in military art in line with the defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine. The qualitative improvement of the Armed Forces from the viewpoint of their composition is based on developing a structure that will ensure the required defense sufficiency with lower economic costs. The scientific development projects in this direction enable us to carry through a balanced development of the different armed services and to improve the quality of management of the Army and Navy.

At the same time, great organizational measures are being implemented. Research has been completed on an experimental structure of the motorized rifle and tank divisions, which, after the removal of a large number of tanks from them, are becoming defensive to an equal degree.

Much work is being carried out on increasing the reliability and quality of combat duty and combat service among the troops. The entire officer corps which is permitted to undertake combat duty has been reappraised.

[Question] The process of democratization and expansion of glasnost that has encompassed all spheres of our life cannot fail to affect the Armed Forces. How are these processes being manifested in the Army?

[Lizichev] A revision is now being completed out of all statute documents, including, first and foremost, the general service statutes, which now reflect the new premises stemming from the defensive nature of the military doctrine and the experience gained, as well as issues concerned with the development of glasnost and democracy in the Armed Forces.

Party-political work is now being based on more democratic principles. The democratic institutions of the Army have begun to function in a new manner: the military councils, party and Komsomol organizations in the Army and Navy, servicemen's meetings, and comradely courts on matters affecting the honor of officers and warrant officers. Permanent attestation commissions have been set up that have the right to assess the work of the commanders and political officers. The "secret" stamp has been removed from many spheres of Army life. However, military secrets are still being preserved, and this is not in conflict with democracy.

The mechanism for the soldiers' international education is being placed on a more democratic footing than previously. Discussion groups on international relations have been set up in the regiments and divisions. The principle of equal representation of all nationalities is being strictly observed in the democratic organizations functioning in the Army and Navy.

[Question] As is well-known, the success of every campaign depends to a large extent on following a correct cadre policy. How are cadre questions being resolved in the Armed Forces under the new conditions?

[Lizichev] In beginning the restructuring in the Army and Navy, we realize that no particular changes can be expected unless we resolve the cardinal issue of our entire cadre work. In short, we have to begin with people, first of all with the officer cadres, by restructuring their thinking, psychology, and style and methods of work. Increasing the level of political awareness and the overall standard and competence of military servicemen—these are the tasks that face us. The phenomenon of protecting one's friends and acquaintances also had to be eradicated from cadre work.

We are paying particular attention to training the officer corps. Today, 81.8 percent of officers have a higher education, and 76 percent are members or candidate members of the CPSU. They are well trained physically and comparatively young: 83 percent of officers are less than 40 years old. New democratic guarantees are being formed for their successful service. For example, work is being completed on regulations regarding officers' terms of service, officers' messes, and the honor court. This year, the entire officer corps will be appraised.

Alongside these developments, if I may speak frankly, restructuring in the Army and Navy is being carried out differently in different places, with certain shortcomings and contrasts. It has still not affected certain units and subunits.

However, these are all growing pains and are being overcome. Today new people are coming to the fore, who, I would say, have the feeling of being in the front line in their blood. These people even act to the detriment of their own well-being and careers. It is our and everyone's good fortune that the Soviet Army has many such people.

Chernavin Interview

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[Interview with V. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister, commander in chief of the Navy, admiral of the Fleet, and Hero of the Soviet Union, by N. Sautin under the rubric "February 23 Is Soviet Army and Navy Day": "Not a Sword But a Shield!"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Sautin] Restructuring in the Armed Forces. How have the face and spirit of the Army and Navy changed in recent years?

[Chernavin] Restructuring has prompted us to make a critical reappraisal of the state of the Army and Navy and the principles of personnel training and education. There have been structural changes. Our military doctrine has been brought into line with the new political realities. A phased arms reduction has begun. The 27th CPSU Congress set a guideline toward qualitative parameters in military building and we have now gotten right down to a fundamental reorganization of the Army and Navy. Restructuring has also changed the demands on the officer corps. There is now more glasnost and democracy in the Armed Forces and greater attention to actual people and their needs and concerns.

But there is another side to what you term the "face and spirit" of the Army.

In the past 2-3 years the prestige of the Armed Forces has been somewhat undermined, unfortunately. I think that the press is also to blame, with its often superficial judgments on Armed Forces' activity. The popularity and prestige of the profession of officer have declined. And this means that the cause of the motherland's defense is losing its prestige. Should this not alarm society? And all those who really think about our motherland's security and inviolability?

[Sautin] Democracy, glasnost, the rule of law. What do they mean to you as USSR deputy defense minister?

[Chernavin] Within the Armed Forces democratization means the possibility for the Army and Navy public to take extensive part in elaborating and making management decisions. It means making maximum use of our democratic institutions: officers' meetings, personnel meetings, courts of honor, and so forth. Glasnost for me means providing the public with information on the decisions that are being made on the restructuring of the Armed Forces as well as on social and cadre questions. The rule of law concept gives rise to my own specific duties—to organize and ensure the strict observance of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws and the precise fulfillment of the requirements of the military oath and military regulations and orders by all naval servicemen without exception.

[Sautin] Bureaucratic methods of work remain a serious obstacle in the Army. How are you combatting this phenomenon in your department?

[Chernavin] First by reducing the apparatus. It has already been cut by 20 percent. Instructions and orders regulating the activity of commanders and political organs have been pared down to the minimum. Commanders, staffs, and political organs have been given great independence. Reporting has been drastically reduced. As for cadre policy on this question, the preference now is being given to officers capable of making innovative decisions, creative and searching people able to objectively and critically assess the results of their work.

[Sautin] Stagnation among cadres. Is it evident among the upper echelons in the Navy?

[Chernavin] With rare exceptions, those who have served their allotted time are promptly transferred to the reserve, thus making way for younger people. As for the upper echelon of the leadership of fleets and the Navy, the situation there is that, besides me, all my deputies and all the fleet commanders have been appointed in the past 3 years.

All fleet commanders have higher education and all except one have graduated from the General Staff Military Academy. Their ages range from 50 to 55. The same may be said about my deputies although their average age is higher.

[Sautin] Only one-fourth of sailors are shipboard personnel. What do the majority remaining on land do?

[Chernavin] Have you never tried to calculate how many people prepare a spacecraft carrying 1-3 people for launch? And the same goes for ships and submarines. They go to sea but the people who prepared them for their voyage remain on shore. There are the services which equip a ship with everything it needs—from food and fuel to books and movies, arsenals, communications facilities, various engineering and meteorological services, legal and medical establishments.... In addition, naval personnel include shore-based missile troops and artillery units, marines, and fleet air forces.

But your question clearly must be taken in a simpler sense: Are our staffs not too large? Most probably. First and foremost the staffs and directorates.... We are now working on ensuring that the number of people in the fleet is neither more nor less than is necessary to ensure the high combat readiness of the Navy.

[Sautin] Comrade Commander in Chief, tell us something about interethnic relations....

[Chernavin] The Army and Navy continue to be a schooling in international education for Soviet people.

The Armed Forces have now begun to receive people who found themselves caught up in a wave of interethnic problems. Some have diminished international feelings which pander to national egoism, and the low standard of the culture of interethnic contacts is having an effect. Sometimes young servicemen drafted from regions where there are outbursts of nationalism either deliberately or involuntarily propagate ideas alien to internationalism.

There is another problem of a negative character—regional cliquishness. It sometimes makes the solution of conflicts more difficult now. Similar manifestations and purely educational errors are increasing—ignorance of the distinctive identity of nationalities, their traditions and customs, possible reactions to given situations, and young officers' lack of practical experience of regulating interethnic relations.

[Sautin] How are these problems being resolved?

[Chernavin] First, of course, by creating an atmosphere of respect for all nations and ethnic groups whose representatives serve in military collectives and ensuring equal conditions of service and equal representation in elected social organizations.

[Sautin] The housing problem. What specifically is being done to tackle it?

[Chernavin] You have touched on one of the most complex problems. Unfortunately, it is a hard one to resolve both in large cities and in remote garrisons. The reasons and difficulties are the same as in the country as a whole. Furthermore, it is the families of young officers who suffer most of all in this respect.

Housing problems are experienced both by officers who are able to continue service and by those who have been transferred into the reserve. We provide officers, ensigns, and warrant officers with housing mainly via payments from local soviets.

Other sources of housing are the Navy's own construction and shared construction. This will increase year by year and, according to our plans, the housing problem will only be fully resolved by the year 2000.

[Sautin] Ships spend a long time far from their native shores but dock in foreign ports very rarely.... Separation from shore affects sailors' psychological state and health. What is being done to resolve this problem?

[Chernavin] In 1988 our ships paid 7 official visits and 438 routine port calls and around 40,000 servicemen went ashore, in other words, Soviet ships were in a foreign state virtually every day of the year. In 1989 we are due to pay at least 17 visits....

We have no naval bases on other states' territory but there are material and technical supply points. This is in keeping with the character of our defensive military doctrine.

What about the crews of submarines carrying out missions in the Mediterranean, for instance? They are taken straight from the patrol region to sanatoria and rest centers in the Crimea. The wives and children of officers and ensigns also go there. After vacationing with their families the sailors are then transferred to the patrol region and continue their service.

[Sautin] The disarmament trend has not become irreversible. What obstacles is it encountering in the naval sphere?

[Chernavin] The situation in the world now is such that the risk of military confrontation at sea is as great as on land, if not greater. With regard to ground forces substantial measures are being taken to reduce the level of

military confrontation and their activity is being monitored under the Stockholm document. Concerning naval forces, this confrontation is not only persisting but is tending to increase.

Aware of this danger, the Soviet Union has put forward, as is well-known, a number of concrete proposals aimed at curtailing the naval arms race, limiting naval activity in various parts of the world, and extending confidence-building measures to naval forces. To be frank and blunt, the West, unfortunately, has given them a hostile reception. U.S. and NATO representatives at all levels have been trying to justify the refusal to discuss naval problems by various arguments including freedom of navigation, the vulnerability of their sea lanes, and the impossibility of organizing the monitoring of fleets' activity. In so doing they are deliberately ignoring the essence of the problem, which is that the West has great superiority at sea and does not want to lose it.

Chervov Meets Socialist Youth Union Group

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[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Anton Slesarev:

The Soviet peace initiatives, the international dialogue which is gaining momentum attest to a transition from military confrontation to detente in the world. Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, chief of a department at the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, expressed this opinion at a meeting with a delegation of the International Union of Socialist Youth.

The further arms build up in Europe becomes not only pointless but also extremely dangerous, General Chervov said. Not only nuclear war, but even a conflict with the use of conventional armaments would be disastrous for Europe.

The reduction of Armed Forces and armaments in Central Europe by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries will lead to a substantial change of the correlation of forces in the region. The Warsaw Treaty Forces will be reduced by 296,300 men. A large number of Soviet units withdrawn from Afghanistan will be disbanded, General Chervov said.

A paradoxical situation has developed in Europe as regards tactical nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union reduces such weapon systems, while NATO plans to build them up, General Chervov said in answer to a question from President of the International Union of the Socialist Youth Juan Calabuig. The Soviet General expressed the hope that countries of the North Atlantic Alliance would respond to the unilateral Soviet initiative and that nuclear menace would not be growing in Europe. General Chervov pointed to the existence of differences within NATO on this matter, specifically to the stand of the FRG whose leaders see no need for deciding on the modernisation of tactical nuclear weapons until 1992.

"Our Army fully supports perestroyka and vigorously participates in it, as part of the Soviet people," Chervov said. "The opinion of certain figures in the West that there is opposition to perestroyka in the Soviet military circles contradicts reality", he said.